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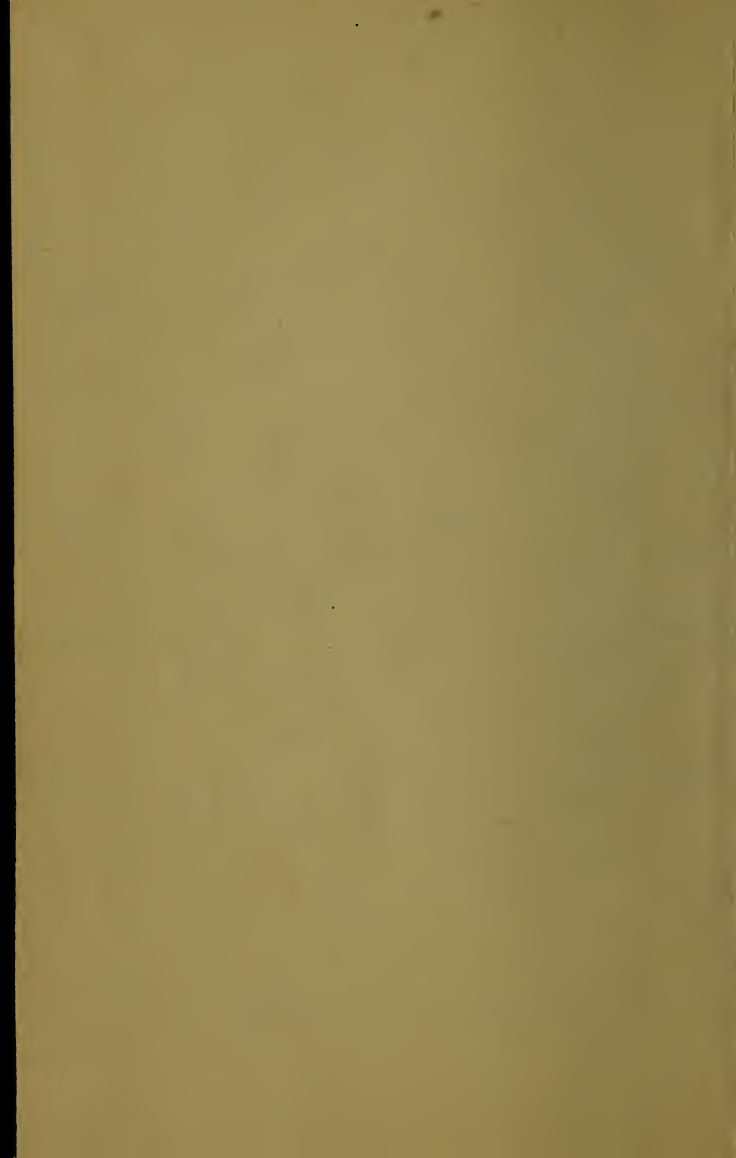
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CONSPIRACY

OF

THE SPANIARDS,

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AGAINST THE

REPUBLIC OF VENICE,

IN 1618.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF THE
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P R E F A C E .

The translator need offer no apologies to the public for presenting them this little volume, upon which is founded one of the most thrilling tragedies of our language, and the plot of which, many, no doubt, have believed to exist only in the imagination of the poet. The present age will hardly agree with the author in his eulogiums on the government of Venice. But, although detestable in its tyranny, which exceeded that of the most despotic monarchies of Europe, and for the secrecy with which it was conducted, yet we cannot justify the attempt made to overthrow it by means which would alike have attacked the innocent and the guilty, and have also placed it under the power of a government scarcely less arbitrary. The translator has endeavoured to

render the literal meaning of the author as nearly as the different idioms of the two languages would allow, and with many hopes of its favourable reception by those who will not feel less interest in the reality of the existence of Pierre and Jaffier, than could have been experienced in witnessing their personation on the stage, it is sent forth "to strut its little hour," and then to be forgotten.

INTRODUCTION.

Of all the histories of human events there are none more interesting than those of conspiracies; courage, prudence and fidelity, which are equally requisite in all who participate in them, are qualities rare in their nature, and still more rarely found united in the same person. Men often flatter themselves with possessing more of the affection of their associates than in reality belongs to them, especially if they are conscious of meriting it, and have exerted themselves to please. Some leaders of conspiracies have placed entire dependance upon the regard of their colleagues; but there are few friendships stronger than the fear of death, and this fear often overcomes the judgment in unforeseen events; the discretion which is necessary on such occasions, never accompanies it, and most persons who are extremely anxious are apt to betray themselves.

If a conspirator is so intelligent that there is no danger of his committing an imprudence, he seldom interests so powerfully the feelings, as those who are less discerning. His knowledge

of the extent of the peril to which he is exposed, the various parts he must perform to escape from it, the uncertainty of the advantages he may derive from the enterprise, the recompense he would receive for discovering it, render him rather feared than beloved.

Experience is the foundation of knowledge, and men seldom reason justly on the first transaction with which they are connected. The wisest are those who profit by the faults they have committed, and by their consequences receive instruction for the better regulation of their conduct in future. Whatever experience may be obtained in other affairs, there can be no certainty of conducting a conspiracy with success, as there is no comparison between the peril and difficulty attending such an undertaking and that of any other transaction. To avoid committing any considerable error, it is necessary to have been already concerned in an affair of the kind; but the same person is seldom twice a conspirator. If the first attempt succeeds, the advantages derived from it prevents the necessity of again incurring the same risk; and no one, after a failure, if so fortunate as to escape, would willingly hazard his life a second time.

It is also to be considered, that however we may abhor tyrants, self-love is generally more

powerful than any hatred we can feel towards them. It is not sufficient for a conspirator to be faithful, if he is not convinced of the fidelity of his colleagues. A chief ought to respect all the ridiculous forms which terror may take as well as the more solid difficulties that are to be encountered, as both are equally capable of ruining the enterprise. A word or movement, although made without any reference to the subject, are sometimes sufficient to induce a belief of treachery, and hasten the event. A change of time or place, which, in itself, is of no importance, frequently intimidates, merely because it has not been anticipated; and men are so constituted, that, feeling culpable, they imagine others know them to be so, and apply to themselves all that is said or done in their presence.

If these difficulties are great in conspiracies which have for their object the death of but one person, how much more formidable are they in those which attack a number, and tend to the usurpation of a city or a state, and which, of course, require more time to regulate, and more persons to execute them.

These considerations have always made me regard such enterprises as the parts of history most moral and instructive, and have induced me to give an account of the conspiracy in

Venice, conducted by a Spanish Ambassador in the year 1618.

Perhaps my judgment may be misled by my attachment to the subject of which I have undertaken to treat; but it appears to me that it is peculiarly calculated to show what prudence or chance may effect in the affairs of the world, the whole extent of the human mind, its various limits, its greatest elevations, and its most secret weaknesses; the infinite number of resources it must possess to govern men, and to discover the proper use of subtilty, and the difference between skill and finesse. As malice is more detestable when it abuses that which is excellent, great horror will be excited by this history, in which the most admirable qualities are used for a vile purpose. A Greek sage seeing a criminal persist in a falsehood with wonderful constancy amidst the most horrible tortures, could not forbear exclaiming, "Oh! wretch, why employ for so bad a purpose that which is in itself so estimable."

This conspiracy is mentioned in the history of Nani, book 3d p. 156, and in the 5th vol. of the "*Mercure Francais*," of the year 1618 p. 38, there is a letter from Venice dated the 21st of May of the same year. The principal works from which this recital is taken, such as the narrative of the Marquis of Bedemar, the despatch of the Capt. Jacques Pierre to the Duke of Ossuno, the deposition of Jaffier, the criminal process against the conspirators and many others, are to be found among the manuscripts of the national library, and the "*Squitinio della liberta Veneta*" is amongst the printed books. The rest is drawn from various other manuscripts,

CONSPIRACY
OF THE SPANIARDS,
AGAINST THE REPUBLIC OF VENICE,

ANNO 1618.

The controversy between Paul 5th and the Republic of Venice having been adjusted by France with the honor and glory which were merited by the holy See and the Venetians, the Spaniards alone felt there was any cause for dissatisfaction. As they had declared for the Pope, and had offered to subjugate the Venetians by their arms, they were irritated that they had no participation in the treaty; but having penetrated the secret of the arrangement, they knew they had no cause of complaint against the holy Father, and that the contempt which had been shown them originated in the Republic. It was the Senate who had wished to exclude them entirely from the mediation, under the pretext that they could not be arbiters after having evinced so much partiality.

Whatever resentment they felt for this outrage they kept concealed during the life of Henry 4th. The obligations of this prince to the Venetians were too well known, and the care he had taken of their interests in their disputes with the court of Rome were not less public. But his death having placed the Spaniards at liberty, a pretext alone was needed.

A troop of privates called the Uscoques resided in the Austrian possessions on the Adriatic sea, and adjoining the Venetian territory. These robbers, who had committed an infinite number of outrages on the subjects of the Republic, were protected by the Archduke Ferdinand de Grez, sovereign of this country, and afterward Emperor. He was a very religious prince, but his ministers divided the plunder with the Uscoques, and as they were devoted to the court of Spain, they took this opportunity of being revenged on the Venetians.

The emperor Matthias, touched with the just complaints of the Republic, reconciled this disturbance at Vienna, in the month of February, 1612; but this reconciliation was so badly observed on the part of the Archduke, that they were obliged to come to an open war, from which the Spaniards did not realise all the advantages they had anticipated.

The Venetians easily repaired by their management, the losses which they sustained in trifling combats. As they had nothing to fear from the Turks, they could better prosecute this war than the Archduke. This prince was pressed by the Emperor to make peace, for the Grand Seigneur menaced Hungary, and he was also obliged to reserve considerable sums to favor his election to the kingdom of Bohemia, which took place soon afterward. The Spaniards would willingly have contributed the means of continuing the war, but the controversy in which they were engaged with Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, would not permit of their dividing their forces; and as the duke received from the Republic large sums of money, they could not detach him from his ally.

The Spanish council were indignant at finding the Venetians every where successful. The mild and peaceable genius of Philip 3d, and of the Duke of Lerma, his favourite, suggested to them no way of extricating themselves from this dilemma; but, one of their ministers in Italy, who was not so moderate as themselves, came forward to their assistance.

Don Alphonso de la Gueva, Marquis of Bedemar, and Ambassador to Venice, was one of the most powerful geniuses and dangerous minds

that Spain had ever produced. It is seen by the writings which he has left, that he understood all that can be found in ancient and modern historians which could form an extraordinary man. He compared the events which they related with those that passed in his own time. He observed wherein they differed or possessed resemblances, and the different results these distinctions produced on the similitudes. He could generally judge of the success of an enterprise as soon as he knew its plans and foundation. If he found by the consequences that he had not foretold justly, he returned to the source of his error, and endeavoured to discover what had deceived him. By this study he comprehended the sure ways, the true means, and the principal circumstances which presaged success to great designs, and which almost always effected it. This continual practice of reading, meditating, and observing on the events of the world, had raised his sagacity to such a point, that his conjectures upon the future almost passed in the Spanish council for prophecies.

To this profound knowledge of the nature of great affairs were joined the most singular talents for conducting them; a facility of speaking and writing in a manner inexpressibly agreeable; a wonderful instinct for understanding men; an

air always gay and open, in which appeared more animation than gravity; so far removed from dissimulation as to approach ingenuousness; a temper free and complaisant, but more impenetrable because every one believed he could penetrate it; manners tender, insinuating and flattering, which secretly attracted hearts the most difficult to conciliate; and every appearance of perfect calmness of mind in the midst of the most terrible agitations.

The Spanish Ambassadors generally possessed full control over the courts to which they were sent, and the Marquis of Bedemar had been chosen for that of Venice in 1607, as the most difficult of all foreign employments, and in which no assistance could be received from women, monks or favorites. The Spanish council were so well satisfied with his management, that however his assistance was needed elsewhere, they could not resolve to recall him, even after six years residence in Venice.

Such a length of time enabled him to study the principles of that government, to discover its most secret resources, to distinguish wherein consisted its strength and weakness, and to see all its advantages and faults. As he saw that the Archduke would be compelled to conclude a peace which could not fail of being disgraceful

to the house of Austria, because the wrong had proceeded from it, he resolved to undertake something which might prevent the success of any treaty with the Republic.

He considered that, in the actual situation of Venice, there was nothing to render it impossible for him to become master of it, especially with the knowledge he possessed, and the force which he might command. The armies of the Republic had exhausted not only its arms, but the men capable of bearing them. As the fleet had never been so fine, the Senate had never believed itself so formidable, or to have had less cause for fear. However, this invincible fleet could not remove from the coast of Istria, which was the seat of war. The army was no nearer, and there was nothing which could oppose a descent of the Spanish navy. To render this invasion more sure, the Marquis of Bedemar intended to seize the principal ports, such as the place of St. Mark, and the Arsenal; and as it would be difficult to effect this whilst the city remained in perfect tranquillity, he proposed putting fire to it in the most susceptible places, and where it would, with the most difficulty, be extinguished.

He did not make known his intentions in Spain, for he well understood that princes do not willingly explain their wishes until the success

of such enterprises is so certain that nothing but their approbation is wanting to secure a happy result. He was contented with proving to the Duke d' Usuda, principal Secretary of State, that seeing the disgrace that befel the house of Austria in the war of the Friuli, by the insolent conduct of the Venetians, and that all the means of accommodation which had been adopted at Vienna, and elsewhere, were ignominious, he believed himself so situated, that both nature and political considerations obliged a faithful subject to have resource to the most extraordinary means of preserving his prince and his country from an infamy otherwise inevitable; and that this ought to be his particular care, for as the employment which he held placed continually before his eyes the sources of the evil to be remedied, no one could better judge what that remedy should be, and that he would endeavour to acquit himself of this duty in a manner worthy the zeal which he felt for the greatness of his master.

The Duke d' Usuda, who understood his character, comprehended immediately that this language conveyed a project equally important and perilous; but as those who are prudent never betray a knowledge which might prove dangerous, unless forced to it, he did not communicate his thoughts to the first minister, but replied to

the Marquis of Bedemar in general terms, praising his zeal, and that he confided the management entirely to his accustomed prudence. The Marquis, who expected no other answer, was not surprised at receiving one so cold, he was occupied in accomplishing his design in a manner to assure approbation.

There has never existed so absolute a monarchy as the supreme dominion which the Senate of Venice exercised over this republic. It placed an immeasurable distance between the patricians and plebeians. Nobles alone could command in the countries dependant on it. The first lords and magistrates of the land regarded its members rather as sovereigns than governors. If the Republic sometimes gave the first places in the army to foreigners, it was always on condition that they should follow implicitly the directions of the Venetian general in chief, and which left them, in reality, nothing but the power of executing his wishes.

As there is no pretext so plausible as war for taxing the people, that of the Uscoques presented a good occasion of enriching the nobles by whom it had been conducted. This war had been an excessive expense; besides the money which was requisite in Piedmont, it was necessary to support a third army in Lombardy, against the

governor of Milan, who was continually menacing to make some movement in favour of the Archduke. The justice of the cause rendered the commanders of the Republic more hardy in inventing new vexations, but it did not tend to make the people more patient of suffering. They expressed their feelings so openly that the Marquis of Bedemar thought, with reason, that the revolution which he meditated would be as agreeable to the people as it would be pernicious to the nobility.

There were even amongst this nobility many persons who disliked the government, and who were partisans of the court of Rome. Ambitious and vindictive, many were irritated that the Republic had been governed by other council than their own during its quarrel with the holy See. They were disposed to do and to suffer every thing, could they wrest the authority from the hands in which it was now held; and they would have regarded with joy the misfortunes of the state, as the consequences of management of which they had not approved. Others, simple and stupid, wished to be more catholic than the Pope. As he had withdrawn many of his pretensions in the reconciliation, they imagined that having been reduced to it by policy, he had still mentally reserved the power of excommunication,

and that this intention still existed in the will of his Holiness. Of this number were several Senators, equally poor in the gifts of fortune and of mind, but who assisted the designs of the Marquis of Bedemar. He persuaded them under the pretence of kindness, that their consciences ought no longer to permit them to wish for the prosperity of Venice.

Although the prohibitions were rigorous which forbid the nobles holding any intercourse with foreigners, he had found the means of contracting intimacies with the most needy and discontented. The acquaintance of their connexions in convents, of their mistresses or their confessors, was purchased at any price, and presents made them, which, although of no intrinsic value, were prized as curiosities from foreign countries. This liberality, apparently without a motive, caused those to reflect who were the objects of it, in what manner they could procure more considerable advantages. With this view they satisfied his curiosity as far as was in their power, and diligently sought information to reply to his demands; his gratitude surpassing their expectations, they allowed themselves no rest until they had engaged their patrons in this intercourse. These nobles could not behold, without envy, persons entirely dependant upon them be-

come richer than themselves, by presents that were made on their account. Perhaps necessity actuated them, but whatever was the cause, from that time there was no deliberation in the Senate that was secret from the Spanish Ambassador; he was warned of all the resolutions that were taken, and the generals of the Archduke were acquainted with those which regarded the war before the commanders of the Republic received orders to execute them.

With this information the Ambassador needed but a body of military to succeed in the enterprise, and as there was a powerful Spanish army in Lombardy, this want could easily be supplied if the Governor of Milan would enter into his designs. The Marquis of Inojosa, who held this employment, was too closely connected with the Duke of Savoy to consent to it; he had just signed the treaty of Ast, in which France and Venice had acted as mediators between that prince and himself. The Ambassador, who knew that this negotiation would not be approved by Spain, wrote to have him recalled, and at the same time solicited the government of Milan for his friend, Don Pedro de Toledo, Marquis of Villa-Franca. Don Pedro was ordered to depart immediately and take the place of Inojosa about the end of the year 1615. He had no sooner

arrived at Milan than he sent notice of it to Venice by the Marquis of Lara.

The Ambassador communicated his project to this Marquis in the manner he thought best calculated to obtain his acquiescence, and to discover if the new governor would allow him 1500 of his best troops whenever he applied for them. Don Pedro, charmed by the greatness of the enterprise, resolved to second it, so far as it could be done without risking his ruin in case of its failure. He sent the Marquis of Lara a second time to Venice to assure the Ambassador of his assent. But at the same time he begged him to consider that he could not send such men as would answer his purpose without a careful selection—that if they perished he would be inexcusable in having exposed the bravest soldiers of his army to such great danger; that he would, however, do all in his power, and that the men he would choose he would answer for as for himself.

Nothing was more important to the design of the Ambassador than to prevent any kind of reconciliation. With this view he obliged the Marquis of Lara to make the most unreasonable propositions of peace to the Senate on the part of the Governor of Milan. The Senate replied, as was anticipated, with indignation, and would

enter into no negotiation. Don Pedro on his side did all in his power to aggravate them still more. The Duke of Mantua was not much disposed to pardon his rebel subjects, which he had promised in the treaty of Ast; he was encouraged to persevere in his resistance, and to continue the executions he had commenced. Propositions were made to the Duke of Savoy to obtain the fulfilment of this treaty, which they knew he would not accept, and excuses were made for not disbanding the army under pretence of the war of the Friuli, in which Spain could not, with honour, avoid taking a part. The Venetian army had passed the Lizonzo, and besieged Gradiska, the capital of the estates of the Archduke.

The Spanish council, who had appeared neutral until then, seeing this prince in danger of being entirely despoiled, menaced a declaration of war. At this time the misunderstanding which had existed in the house of Austria, between the Spanish and German branches, on account of the rivalry of the son and the brother of Charles 5th, for the succession to the empire, was accommodated. The interest which the Spaniards took in this war was the first mark of reconciliation. Don Pedro ordered the colonel of horse, Gambalotta, to advance near Cremona with troops, and mounted twenty-four batteries

of cannon at Pavia, which he made known would soon be reinforced by a body of eight thousand men, commanded by Don Sancho de Luna. On the other side the Viceroy of Naples, who crossed the Mediterranean with the Spanish fleet, menaced an attack on the Duke of Savoy, by Villa-Franca. He closed the avenue to all succours arriving by sea from the Republic, and every day threatened to enter the gulf, and blockade the Venetian fleet.

The Venetian Ambassadors at the respective courts at which they resided inveighed against the violence of this proceeding, the Marquis of Bedemar justified it. He believed it important for his design to destroy the veneration with which Europe, for so many ages, had regarded this Republic as the most ancient of existing states, and where Liberty was most enjoyed. This liberty had been recently proved, and raised more high during the controversy with the Pope, by several works which were yet thought incontrovertable, although the opposite party were not wanting in men of talents capable of answering them.

The Ambassador again examined them, refuted in a few chapters the numerous volumes of the Venetian authors without honouring any one in particular by naming him; and as there are

no questions in subjects of this nature which a skilful man may not render problematical, under pretence of establishing the right of the Emperors over Venice, he proved that the independence of this Republic was as much a chimera as its empire over the sea. As it was not necessary for his design that he should be known as the author of this libel, he had it published so secretly that it was not discovered during his life that he had any concern in it. It appears strange that he was not suspected; but it must be believed that the Venetians did not yet understand him; his manners lively and passionate, did not allow them to suppose a man of so impetuous a character could be the author of a satire of so much refinement and delicacy. Equity and good faith appeared to predominate throughout, and the declamation against the outrages of the Venetians were expressed in terms of such apparent moderation as was fully sufficient to render them plausible. This work, which was entitled, "*Squittinio della liberta veneta*," excited a great sensation.

Their ignorance respecting the author naturally inclined them to suspect the court of Rome on account of the preceding writings. The learned men of the Senate believed that the force of it would be felt by every one as much as by

themselves, and it occasioned them more terror than even the loss of a battle, and Fra-Paolo was ordered to examine it. This man who had ridiculed the other writers of the opposite party declared it would be better not to reply to this, as it would be bringing things to light that had better remain buried in the shades of antiquity; but if the Senate judged it proper for the dignity of the Republic to notice this work, he would undertake to give the court of Rome so much trouble in defending itself, that it would no longer think of attacking. In the first heat of resentment this offer was accepted, and Fra-Paolo saw with joy an occasion to publish his history of the council of thirty, which otherwise would not have appeared during his life.

The campaign of 1616 passed without any considerable advantage on either side. The Duke of Savoy and the Venetians, who did not wish to hazard the loss of the glory they had acquired, empowered Gritti, the Venetian Ambassador at Madrid, to renew the negotiation. The Spaniards, indignant at the resistance they had met, made propositions it was impossible should be received. Gradiska remained blockaded. They continued fighting during the winter, and at the commencement of spring they were actuated by such ardour as promised better success

than the preceding year. The truce in Holland having rendered useless the greater part of the troops of that state, and reduced the French and German adventurers to seek employment elsewhere, the Counts of Nassau and Lievestein brought eight thousand Dutch and Wallons to the service of the Republic. The Spaniards complained to the Pope that the Venetians were exposing Italy to the dangers of heresy by an intercourse with these military men; but the Venetian Ambassador convinced him it was less the interest of religion which influenced them than sorrow, at beholding two great republics unite their forces against them.

But the Marquis of Bedemar would have been greatly embarrassed had the Pope obliged the Venetians to disband these heretics. As these mercenaries thought only of profit in serving a foreign prince, he hoped to gain the assistance of their chiefs in consideration of a certain sum, and the expectation of the plunder of Venice. To negotiate this affair, he cast his eyes upon an old French gentleman named Nicholas de Renault, a man of talents and knowledge who for reasons not known had sought refuge in Venice. The Marquis of Bedemar had frequently seen him at the house of the French Ambassador, where he lived. In some conversation which

chance occasioned, Renault discovered that the capacity of this minister had not been overrated, and the Marquis well pleased to possess a friend of this character at the French Ambassador's, soon became extremely intimate with him.

Although this man was exceedingly poor, he estimated virtue more than riches, but he loved glory beyond virtue, and if it could not be obtained by innocent means, there were none too criminal for him to undertake. From the writings of the ancients he had learned that perfect indifference for life or death which is the foundation of all extraordinary designs; and he always regretted that period when the merit of individuals decided the destiny of states, and when those who possessed it had always the power of making it known.

The Marquis of Bedemar, who had deeply studied him, and who had need of a man to whom he could entirely confide the management of the enterprise, revealed to him his plans, at the same time saying, he had placed dependance on him from the first moment he had conceived the idea of such an undertaking. Renault felt more complimented by this assurance than he would have done with all the praises that could have been offered him; his advanced age did not prevent his entering into this engagement,

for as in the course of nature his life must be short, he believed he could not better employ the few sad years that yet remained for him, than by risking them in an adventure which might render his name immortal. The Marquis of Bedemar gave him the bills of exchange and letters of credit necessary to negotiate with the commander of the Hollanders; he charged him not yet to explain the nature of the enterprise, but merely to make him understand that the difficulties had increased to such a degree between the Republic and the house of Austria, that the Spanish Ambassador, then at Venice, foreseeing something might occur which would expose his person to the fury of the people of that city, to guard himself from such peril, he wished to feel assured of the protection of a number of faithful and resolute friends. The pretext was gross, but the slightest veil is a great resource in affairs of this nature, and it was of little consequence to him that they should suspect some mystery, provided they could not penetrate it. By this means he hoped to seduce the chosen band of the Venetian army, and that the rest would remain so feeble it would be easy for Don Pedro to defeat them on the road, if they were ordered to Venice to oppose the conspirators.

The navy was much more to be feared; it

was always in its power to conquer, and much more easy to be brought to the aid of the city. It was composed chiefly of the natural subjects of the republic, and there was no doubt at the first noise of a conspiracy it would proceed to Venice. The hope that the Spanish fleet could prevent it was not to be depended on; it would not have been wise to place on the chance of a combat the success of an enterprise already so dangerous, and it was necessary there should be some means to prevent the Venetian fleet from having the power of being useful.

The Ambassador, who had not as much experience in naval affairs as the Viceroy of Naples, who commanded the navy of Spain, believed it best to consult him on the subject. This Viceroy who was to be the principal actor in the tragedy composed by the ambassador, was that Duke of Ossuno, so famous for his gallantries, and who was as enterprising as Don Pedro and the Marquis of Bedemar. This resemblance in their dispositions had occasioned a great intimacy between these three ministers. Don Pedro and the Duke of Ossuno were not remarkable as diplomatists, and the Duke was even sometimes subject to irregularities which approached folly; but the deference they both felt for the Marquis

of Bedemar supplied the want of that skill which they did not possess.

The profits from piracy for those who practised it under powerful protection had attracted to the court of the Viceroy of Naples the most famous corsairs in the Mediterranean. This Viceroy, who was fruitful in extraordinary designs, and rather prodigal than avaricious, did not protect them so much for the share he received of their plunder as that he might always retain near him a number of persons ready for any enterprise. Not contented with merely receiving them, if he heard of one more extraordinary than others, he sought for him, and offered such great advantages that he infallably succeeded in obtaining him. He had attracted in this manner Captain Jacques Pierre, a Norman of good family, and who had so much excelled all others in this line that many gloried in having been taught by him.

The mind of this man was not at all affected by the barbarism of this kind of life. Having gained enough to live honestly, he resolved to quit it, although he was yet in the flower of his age, and he had chosen the dominions of the Duke of Savoy for his retreat. This prince, an admirer of all extraordinary talents, and who perfectly understood the value of the equal dis-

tributions of nature, learning the reputation of this corsair for extreme bravery, had accorded to him his desire of establishing himself at Nice. All the officers, soldiers and sailors who frequented this coast regularly made their court to the Captain; his councils were oracles for them, and he was the sovereign arbiter of all their disputes. It was impossible not to admire a man who had abandoned a profession which generally possessed such attractions for its followers, and in which he had been so successful.

Amongst those who sought the friendship of the Captain was a Vincent Robert of Marseilles, who, having landed in Sicily, where the Duke of Ossuno was then Viceroy, was so kindly received as to induce him to enter into the service of that prince. The Duke having learned that Robert was intimate with Pierre, familiarly complained to him that his friend should have chosen the estates of the Duke of Savoy for a residence in preference to his own. He accompanied this complaint with extraordinary testimonials of the esteem which he entertained for the courage and experience of the Captain in all maritime affairs, and concluded by assurances of sparing nothing which depended upon him to attract to his court a man of such singular merit. Robert undertook this negotiation with joy, and it was sup-

ported by such advances on the part of the Viceroy, that Pierre felt under the obligation of repairing to Sicily with his wife and children.

As the Captain had never lost sight of the sea, he had never been entirely cured of his passion for it. There had been lately built for the Viceroy several fine vessels, and hearing of some Turkish caravans very richly laden being at sea with a feeble escort, Pierre could not resist the temptation. He had no cause to repent it; the prize was immense, and the Duke of Ossuno, who lived with him as with a brother, gave up the greatest part of it to him, on condition he would follow him to Naples, where, by order of the king, he was to take the command, and proceed to Provence, to seduce to his employ the best seamen on that coast. The Captain returned with sufficient to arm five large vessels belonging to the Viceroy, and over which he had absolute control. With this little fleet he ravaged all the isles and the shores of the Levant, and terminated his first campaign by a battle in which he took or sunk a large squadron of Turkish galleys.

It was at this time that the Marquis of Bedemar communicated his design to the Duke of Ossuno, confident he would have but little trouble in engaging his co-operation. This duke who

affected an empire over the sea, wished for nothing more ardently than to ruin those who could alone dispute his power and whom it was not so easy to combat as the Turks. He disclosed the project to Pierre in making known to him all the difficulties they would encounter. The Captain did not believe them insurmountable, and after many days of secret conference he privately left Naples in a manner which evinced extreme fear. The Viceroy immediately despatched persons in every direction, excepting the one he had taken, with orders to seize him dead or alive, his wife and children were imprisoned and apparently treated in a most cruel manner. All his property was confiscated and the anger of the Duke was so violent that all Naples was astonished at it, although his character was so well known. As the Captain did not appear more calm, their disagreement was easily believed, and it was supposed that Pierre had acted contrary to the interests of Spain, or of the Duke in his particular designs, and had returned to his first asylum.

The Duke of Savoy was in open war with the Spaniards and he was known as the most generous of princes. Although he had evinced some displeasure at the Captain for quitting his dominions for Sicily, the imposter did not hesitate to throw himself at his feet. He revealed to him

many designs of the Viceroy horrible even to think of, but which bore no resemblance to the truth. As he did not feel that he could engage in them with honor, he had taken measures to leave Naples with his family and property, but the Viceroy discovering his intention, he had been obliged to fly suddenly to conceal himself from his fury, and to abandon what was dearest to him in the world to the discretion of the most cruel of men.

The Duke of Savoy, touched with pity at this sad recital, received him with open arms. He told the corsair that his interests being intimately connected with those of the Republic, he would acknowledge the service he had rendered their common cause, if the Venetians did not show themselves grateful. He added that it was important the Senate should be instructed by his own mouth of the designs of the Duke of Ossuno. After having exhorted him to support his disgrace like a man of courage, furnishing him with every thing necessary, and making him a magnificent present, he directed him to take the road to Venice, with letters of credit and recommendation.

The Venetians were not less compassionate than the Duke of Savoy. The flight, the tears, the poverty, the despair, the reputation of the

Captain, the hope that he would attract to their service as many brave persons as he had to the Duke of Ossuno, and above all, the projects which he related of this Duke, and which he had invented with plausibility, spoke so powerfully in his favor, that they immediately gave him command of a vessel. Contarini, the Ambassador to Rome, remonstrated in his letters that this man, coming from the Viceroy, should be suspected ; but fear had produced such credulity in the minds of the Venetians, that they overlooked this prudent advice. A short time after the fleet was at sea, the Captain, knowing the importance of his signalizing himself, took several considerable prizes from the Uscoques, whom he had been ordered to pursue, and on his return from the cruise eleven vessels were added to the one already under his command.

In rendering an account to the Duke of Ossuno of his success, he ended his despatch in these words : " If these ideots are always as credulous as I now find them, I dare assure your excellency that my time will not be lost in this country." He wrote at the same time to his comrades in Naples to attract them to the service of the Republic. It was not difficult to seduce them, for after his flight the Viceroy, feigning suspicion,

exerted as much rigour towards them as he had before shown indulgence.

He made great complaints of the protection accorded the Captain by the Republic, and to be revenged he received all those Uscoques whom the Venetian arms had driven from their asylum. They again commenced their cruises under his protection, captured a large vessel going from Corfu to Venice, and publicly sold the plunder under his standard. He violated the rights of ports, and retaliated severely for slight causes; he disregarded the orders he had received from Spain to return what had been seized, and published a manifesto giving reasons for his disobedience. He sent a large fleet to cruise in the Adriatic, and the prizes which were taken from the Venetians were brought in triumph to Naples. At last he ruined their commerce at the expense of the Neapolitans themselves who were interested in it; and if the superintendants of the revenue dared to complain, he silenced them with threats of hanging.

As war had not been declared between Spain and the Republic, the Venetians were thrown into astonishment at such singular conduct. Almost every one imputed it to the extravagance of the Duke alone, but some who were wiser knew that characters like his could be of great

use when skilfully employed, and believed that the Spaniards took advantage of his caprices to perform actions they would neither avow or sustain. In his familiar discourse he talked of nothing but surprising the ports of Istria belonging to the Republic, of sacking the islands, and of even making a descent on Venice. He studied his plans with his mistresses, had exact maps drawn of the environs, built barks, brigantines, and other small vessels proper for canals, tried how much weight each depth of water could sustain, and every day invented new machines to diminish this weight, and facilitate the movement. The Venetian resident minister at Naples rendered an account of his proceedings to the Senate to the great despair of the Marquis of Bedemar, who began to repent of having united his interest to that of a man so wild and scheming; but success proved his fears had deceived him.

The Viceroy carried things with so high a hand that the Venetians did nothing but laugh. Even the most penetrating could not believe there was any deep purpose concealed under such open demonstrations of hostility. The Duke still continued acting according to his own wishes without giving the least offence, and his indiscretion, which in another would have ruined the

enterprise, forwarded it more than all the circumspection of the Marquis of Bedemar. Nevertheless, the Marquis judged it best to hasten the execution of their project, either that the Venetians might not have leisure to reflect, or on account of the danger to which his person was daily exposed. The Venetian fleet having offered battle to the Spaniards, who refused it, they plundered the coast of Apulia, and the people of Venice demonstrated such insolent joy, that the Ambassador and his household would infallably have been massacred if a guard had not been sent to protect them.

On the same day the Marquis of Bedemar received news, from the camp before Gradiska, which consoled him for this accident. Renault informed him that he had found minds so happily disposed that the negotiation had been concluded in a short time. The Ambassador ordered him to visit Milan before returning, and Don Pedro received him with all those caresses with which the great blind the minds of those who sacrifice themselves to their service. They agreed that it was necessary to obtain possession of a city belonging to the Venetians on terra-firma, which could be seized at the same time as Venice; that this city would serve as a check to the others and as a deposit of arms for the Spanish army

which should attack them, and would also prove a barrier to Venice, rendering any assistance to those which were besieged.

Renault visited the principal places, and remained some time at Crema to effect an arrangement with a French lieutenant, named John Berard, an Italian captain, and a Provencal lieutenant, whom Don Pedro had already engaged. These three men offered to conceal five hundred Spaniards in the city without giving the least suspicion to the commander, and to seize it in eight days afterwards. Renault examined the place, and judged success nearly infallible with that number of men. It was only necessary to cut the throats of a miserable garrison drawn from the militia of the country, as all the regular troops of the Republic were either in the fortified places of the Friuli, or with the armies.

The Duke of Ossuno and the Marquis of Bedemar also deemed it necessary to gain some of the Venetian possessions on the gulf to enable them to assist the Uscoques, and the Archduke, and to serve as a retreat to the Spanish fleet should any accident oblige it to seek an asylum in this sea. They chose for this end Maran, a strong place on an island contiguous to Istria, and whose harbour was sufficient for a large fleet. An Italian named Mazza, who had been

a serjeant major for forty years, exercised nearly as much authority as the Governor. In consideration of a large sum, this man promised an emissary of the Duke of Ossuno, to kill the Governor and render himself master of the place which he would hold in the name of the Spaniards. It was almost as easy for him to execute this promise as to make it; the Governor, Lorenzo Tiepolo, who was the overseer, was on terms of great familiarity with him; and as the place of overseer occupied him on the frontier in time of war, he depended entirely upon the sergeant major in all that concerned the interior, as upon the most ancient and capable officer of the garrison.

Affairs were in this state when the Ambassador thought it best to place the finishing stroke to his work. By waiting, he might add to the measures he had taken, but he knew that length of time was mortal to designs of this nature. It was impossible that all the different means which could contribute to success would at the same time be in readiness for operation. The first changed their faces whilst the others were preparing, and when one is fortunate enough to combine a sufficient number, it is a capital fault to allow the occasion to pass which is so precious.

It was of extreme importance for the honor of the Spanish crown that its Ambassador could not be convicted of having taken a part in the enterprise in case of its failure. With this view he resolved to remain concealed to all the conspirators excepting Renault and Pierre; even these two were unacquainted. They never visited the Ambassador excepting when sent for, and he was careful to appoint different times that they might not meet. If a discovery should take place, it would be more advantageous for him that they should have had no connexion. In this fear, he wished still to continue to direct them without their becoming known to each other, but after mature deliberation he judged it impossible, and despairing of success if he did not establish a perfect union between them, he resolved to take this step, however unpleasant it might be to him.

Although both possessed courage and prudence, Renault principally piqued himself on making such a disposition of things that the execution would be easy and the success certain. Pierre, on the contrary, who was much younger, prided himself upon being a man of great promptitude, and extraordinary resolution. The Marquis made known to him the various negotiations of Renault, his wisdom, which provided expedi-

ents for all exigencies, his eloquence and address in gaining new partisans, and his talent for writing so useful on an occasion when continual news of the fleet, the provinces, and the army, was requisite. He added, that he thought a man of this description would be extremely useful to the Captain; that he was an old man of great experience, who wanted neither heart nor firmness, but whose age and literary, rather than warlike profession, rendered him incapable of partaking with Pierre the glory of the execution. To Renault he merely said that Pierre was a man attached to the Duke of Ossuno, and that the Duke, before engaging in the enterprise, had concealed nothing from this confidant. He prayed him to condescend to the manners of the corsair, as it was necessary to their design to pay him all the deference which could gain the mind of a man proud and presumptuous to the last degree.

The Marquis of Bedemar having labored in this manner to dispose these two men to good fellowship, was extremely astonished, the first time they met at his house, to see them embrace with much tenderness, as soon as they cast their eyes upon each other. There is no mind so strong that does not sometimes reason falsely upon that which surprises it. The first thought

of the Ambassador was that he was betrayed. As he had understood they were not acquainted he could not comprehend why their connexion had been concealed from him. This mystery was soon elucidated. They had met at the house of a celebrated Greek, a woman of extraordinary merit for a courtisan, of which there needed no other proof than this adventure, in which she had religiously concealed, as she had been requested, the secret of their names. This fidelity is more to be admired as she was not ignorant of the great esteem in which they held each other.

The Ambassador, fully recovered from his surprise, was delighted to find an union already effected, for which he had so much wished. They acknowledged, in the course of conversation, that they had each a design of engaging the other in the enterprise. As they were full of their project, in their conversation at the Greek's they had sometimes fallen upon subjects of this nature, in speaking of the affairs of the times, and the state of the war, without any intention of revealing their secret; they however candidly confessed, in presence of the Ambassador, that in the heat of argument they had sometimes proceeded a little too far, and had discovered more of their sentiments than was wise. The Mar-

quis advised them to profit by this reflection, to be more circumspect in future, and to let this experience teach them that to keep really secret a great affair, it was not sufficient that nothing was said which could have any connexion with it, they should not even remember that they knew it.

Renault related to them that since the rumours of peace, which had been renewed towards the end of the month of June, the Venetian officers had very badly treated the foreign troops, who, being no longer restrained by the authority of the Count of Nassau, whose death took place about that time, had not performed their duty before Gradiska; that the General of the Republic fearing they would do worse, had separated them by sending them to different posts, as distant from each other as it was in his power to choose. This precaution having rendered public the distrust which was felt for their fidelity, they had mutinied, and having refused, with insolence, to execute some orders of the Senate, the General believed it his duty to put to death some of the most seditious; that he had confined the chiefs in Padua, and distributed the rest in various places in Lombardy, until they could be paid, and the completion of the treaties would permit him to disband them.

Renault added, that the lieutenant of the Count of Nassau, who was one of the principal with whom he had negotiated, had been banished to Bresse, but he had so employed himself whilst there that he was ready to place that city in the hands of Don Pedro, and that it was requisite to determine immediately upon this particular attempt, as the lieutenant was very pressing for a decisive answer.

The Ambassador replied, that he could do nothing until he was master of Venice, and even then but one place in Lombardy would be necessary to him; that they were certain of Crema, and this new enterprise would only divide their forces. He wished, however, that those who had been gained should continue well disposed, and it would be better to make some plausible excuse for defering the execution, and rather than expose themselves to any rumour of their designs, it would be better to abandon the thought altogether.

Renault said, that besides this lieutenant, he had negotiated with three French gentlemen, whose names were Durand, sergeant-major to the regiment of Lievestein, De Brainville, and De Bribe, also a Savoyard called De Ternon, who had been at the scalade of Geneva, a Hollander named Theodore, Robert Revellido, an

Italian engineer, two other Italians who had been employed in the Arsenal, named Louis de Villa Mezzana, captain of light horse, and William Retrosi, lieutenant of captain Honorat in Parma. He had considered it necessary to confide his plan entirely to these nine persons, but from the manner in which he had chosen them, he would answer with his head for their fidelity. During his residence in the camp they had already gained more than two hundred officers; but these officers had only understood, as the Ambassador had ordered, that they were to go to Venice to deliver his excellency from the hands of the populace of that city, whenever their assistance was needed. Since his return he had written to know exactly the number of men upon whom he could depend, and that they must be particular to name none who were doubtful, and they had sent him word that he might count upon two thousand men of Lievestein's troops at the least, and upon two thousand three hundred of those of Nassau; that all the officers were ready to place themselves in his hands as hostages of fidelity, and from the commencement of this negotiation they had flattered their soldiers with the hope of some expedition to which they would conduct them when they were dismissed by the Republic, and that they should be liberally re-

compensated for the misery which they had suffered. There was no fear that when the singularity of the enterprise was made known to them they would recede, as they were so much incensed against the Senate, on account of the ignominious treatment they had received, that for this reason alone he would answer for their undertaking any adventure that could procure them revenge; however, for greater security, they would not divulge the secret until things should be so well disposed and so much advanced that there could be no doubt of success, and as it had been resolved to give Venice up to plunder, there was no one who would hesitate to enrich himself by so sure and quick a way, and pass in opulence the rest of his days.

From the first thought which the Marquis of Bedemar had conceived of the undertaking, he had resolved not to engage in it without possessing many more resources than was necessary for its success, and they should be so independent and disengaged from each other that even if one should fail it should not affect the power of the others. With this view he had taken measures with the Duke of Ossuno to be supplied with troops, although he depended on the promises of Don Pedro, and upon the treaty of Renault with the Hollanders. He had negotiated with each

of these three as if he had no dependance on the others, and as though he needed them for three different enterprises.

It was now time to know precisely when the Duke of Ossuno could send to Venice the men expected from him. But as he did not possess a mind sufficiently steady for one to repose blindly upon his word in so important and difficult an affair, it was thought best to send some one capable of judging on the spot if he was in a situation to fulfil his word. Pierre could not absent himself from Venice without its being remarked. Renault was indispensably necessary there, and they cast their eyes for this journey upon De Bribe, one of the French gentlemen with whom Renault had negotiated in Friuli. But this gentleman whilst preparing to depart having received a commission from the Republic to raise soldiers, it was thought best for him to remain, and a Franc Comptois named Laurent Nolot, a friend of the Captain's, proceeded in his place the first day of the year 1618.

The Marquis of Bedemar now believed it time to consult the council of Spain. To prevent their demanding any explanation from him he sent a full account of the extent of his project, with the most favourable view of its situation. As he knew the slowness of the deliberations of

the Spanish court, he insisted, in a private despatch to the Duke of Lerma, on a prompt and decisive reply, that the danger he was in, authorised him to express himself in so absolute a manner, and if his courier was detained longer than eight days, he should interpret the detention into an order to abandon his design.

The answer arrived within the time he demanded, but it was not altogether so decided as he wished. He was told that if it would be disadvantageous to defer it, to proceed to all extremes; but if it could be delayed, they ardently wished to receive before hand a full and faithful description of the state of the Republic.

The Ambassador, who had ample knowledge on this subject was not long in preparing so artful a relation that the Spaniards have called it the master-piece of their politics. The intention for which it was executed could not be discovered, but by those in the secret, but to them almost every word bore some reference to the great project. It commenced by an elegant lamentation on the difficulty of the work on account of the impenetrable secrecy of the government which it would describe. He praised this government, but the eulogium which he made was more upon the first ages of the Republic than of its present state. From these praises he

made observations equally sad and eloquent on the mutability of all things human, and that the most excellent were most subject to corruption ; thus the wisest laws of this state, by the abuses to which they had been subjected were the causes of the present evils ; that those laws which excluded the people entirely from a knowledge of affairs occasioned the tyranny of the nobles, and those which submitted the ecclesiastical power to the censure of the sovereign magistrate, served for the foundation of the license evinced by the people of Venice towards the court of Rome during its quarrel with the Republic. He attributed to this license the impieties which had been committed with impunity by the Hollanders in Friuli. He noticed particularly the interment of a nobleman of their country, named Renaud de Brederode, in the church of the Servites of Venice, although a calvanist, and seriously accused Fra-Paolo in this affair, without naming him, because it was he who inspired the Senate with this audacity. He wondered how the people, no longer awed into obedience to the prince by a religion which was violated in every way before their eyes, could endure the frightful impositions practised upon them. He represented these impositions in detail, and exaggerated nothing in making them appear in-

supportable. He demonstrated that the honor and blood of the people were, not less than their property, at the discretion of the nobles. That the natural disposition of the nation inclining it to avarice, revenge and love, it was not astonishing that those who were obliged to obey in a government of this kind, should be oppressed by those who commanded. At last he examined the state of the Senate, the provinces and the army. He remarked the division of the Senate, and did not hesitate to say that he knew of many discontented nobles. He described the desolation of some of the provinces occasioned by the war with the Uscoques, and the exhausted state in which the others had been placed by the assistance they had rendered them; that there were not three officers who had been paid in any garrison in Lombardy, and that the Republic only preserved its authority there by the want of some one who would undertake to usurp it. As to the army, he gave a faithful recital of the insurrection, and the manner in which the mutineers had been dispersed, whose numbers were so large they might regard those who were left as a miserable collection of militia, who had neither courage, experience or discipline; that the fleet had become for sometime an asylum for the most infamous corsairs of the Mediterranean, people

unworthy of the name of soldiers, and of whose services the Republic could not be secure should they become strong enough to turn their arms against her.

After having described these things with great beauty of language, and wonderful force of expression, he considered what opinion ought to be formed of the future state of the Republic, its fortune and duration ; that it was easily seen by the facts which he had established, that it was in its decrepitude, and its diseases were of such a nature that there could be no crisis, neither could the present constitution be corrected but by entirely changing its form.

After this account the council of Spain allowed the Marquis of Bedemar the liberty of acting without orders. All operations were, however, arrested by Nolot not returning, and the Ambassador could not console himself for the fault he had committed in exposing an affair of this kind to the caprice of the Duke of Ossuno, whose disposition he had long known. This delay was extremely dangerous in the present state of things. After the Spaniards had taken Vercell, Gradiska found itself pressed by the Venetians, and the council of Spain could find no other means of saving it than by renewing propositions of peace. They prepared at Madrid a

writing which contained the principle articles, but the continued irregularities of the Duke of Ossuno obliged the Venetians to revoke the power of their Ambassador, and carried the negotiation to France, where the death of the Marshal d' Ancre made them hope for more favor.

Peace was concluded at Paris the sixth of September, and the Governor of Milan held a conference some time after at Pavia, with the Count de Bethune to regulate the execution of it respecting the Duke of Savoy. At the same time this governor continued to vex the Venetians, and even took some small places they possessed in Lombardy. They complained loudly of it, and prepared for war, until the Marquis of Bedemar, in full Senate, offered the customary compliments for peace, and promised the execution of the treaty. He was not so much actuated by any orders he had received from Spain, as from a wish to efface the bad impressions which the Senate had conceived of him from past circumstances. With this view he acquitted himself of this duty with every imaginable demonstration of joy and friendship, and the Venetians, who ardently wished for that which he promised, allowed themselves to be blinded by his words, and agreed with him for a suspension of arms.

This was a decisive stroke for the Spaniards and

the master-piece of their Ambassador. Gradiska was so strongly pressed it could not possibly hold out for fifteen days, and hostilities were to cease but at the end of two months, as this time had been thought necessary on each side to dispose affairs for the ratification of the treaty. Something must be done to prevent it from falling during that time, and this suspension placed it out of all danger. The Spaniards no longer having any reasons to urge the performance of the treaty, remained at liberty to lengthen the time as it should best suit their designs.

The Duke of Ossuno, obliged by orders from Madrid and the remonstrances of the Pope, offered some time after to return the vessels he had taken, but as for the merchandise, he could not tell what had become of it. They, however, sold it in Naples even before the eyes of the Venetian Resident, and the Duke again sent a powerful fleet to cruise in the Adriatic. The Senate wished to remonstrate with the Marquis of Bedemar, but his complaints were loudest. He declared he could not undertake to answer for the actions of the Duke of Ossuno, and that the king, their master, understood them no better, and that amongst all the favors and the kind treatment he had received at Venice during his embassy the only displeasure which he had felt,

was in knowing that they imputed to his councils the conduct of the Viceroy; that he had no part in it, and as well as they knew the Duke of Ossuno they must be convinced he had no other guide than his own caprice; as for himself they might judge of his disposition by the peaceable proceedings of the Governor of Milan, of which he gloried in being the author.

It was true that Don Pedro observed exactly the suspension, but he always remained armed, and that it might not be thought strange, he again quarreled with the Duke of Savoy, under pretext that the troops sent away by this prince had been detained in the "pays de Vaud," waiting for the entire performance of the treaty. Don Pedro refused to the Count de Bethune to disarm, as he had promised him at Pavia, and obliged the Duke of Mantua, also to refuse that which depended on him. The Count de Bethune wrote a public protest against them in dwelling upon their refusal. They replied to this protestation in the most plausible manner the Marquis of Bedemar could invent.

It could be easily judged by these events that it was important to hasten the execution of the plot, since it was so difficult to maintain affairs in a right position, for any length of time, to insure success. Still Nolot did not return from

the Duke of Ossuno, and the Ambassador, in despair, commanded him to discover the reason at whatever price, and at last it was made known to him.

Some time after Pierre was received into the service of the Republic, the Viceroy, who wished to be instructed by different means of the state of Venice, sent after him an Italian named Alexander Spinoso, as a spy into the affairs there. This man, who was not known, soon obtained employment like all adventurers who asked for it. He believed that the Duke was planning some important enterprise, but he did not suspect that the corsair was the conductor of the plot; he doubted, however, whether he was really upon as bad terms with the Duke as was believed by the world. When Spinoso came to Venice he offered the Viceroy to assassinate the Captain, who refused this proposal under pretence of the danger he must run in executing it. Spinoso, who was not wanting in intelligence, thought there must be some stronger reason for this refusal, as the mere sacrifice of a man would never have made him hesitate in his revenge. The Duke, however, charged him to observe the actions of the corsair, either to prevent Spinoso from suspecting the truth, or because he could never place entire confidence in any one; and he also

wished to see if what Spinosa wrote of the Captain accorded with what Pierre wrote of himself.

To acquit himself better of his commission, Spinosa kept company with some Frenchmen who frequented the house of Pierre at Venice. These persons who were amongst the conspirators, rendered an exact account to the Captain of the enquiries made by Spinosa concerning his conduct, and they also discovered that this spy endeavoured to intrigue on his side to entice people into the service of the Duke of Ossuno.

Pierre was very indignant that the Viceroy should not place entire trust in him, but it did not surprise him; he only considered that if Spinosa continued to cabal without their acting together, that it would enfeeble their party by dividing it, and it did not appear proper that he should open his mind to a man who had been ordered to act as a spy upon him.

The Marquis of Bedemar and Renault were of the same opinion, and that there was no time to lose in remedying this inconvenience. After having maturely investigated the means of doing it they found there was no security for them but in getting Spinosa out of the way. He was a man who would sell his life dearly if they undertook to assassinate him. The employment

which he followed obliged him to be always upon his guard, and the Captain was at last obliged to accuse him, before the council of ten, as a spy of the Duke of Ossuno, after having uselessly tried every other means to accomplish his destruction. The French with whom he was connected gave in their evidence so judiciously and circumstantially that he was taken and secretly strangled the same day. All that he could advance against the corsair made no impression on the minds of his judges because it was against his accuser, and he had no proofs to offer of the truth of his assertions.

This affair augmented the confidence of the Venetians in the Captain; but it extremely afflicted the Marquis of Bedemar, as it served as a caution to the Venetians to watch the conduct of the foreigners in their service.

The Duke of Ossuno, who had just learned the death of Spinosa when Nolot arrived at Naples, did not hesitate to guess the author. The displeasure which he felt made him think it wrong of the Marquis of Bedemar that he had not consulted with him about it, and the various suspicions to which this event gave birth, in his mind made him hesitate on what he should resolve.

However, the troops of Lievestein having mu-

tinied anew, they were brought to the Lazaretto, two miles from Venice, by order of the Senate, at the beginning of the month of February. The Marquis of Bedemar fearing they would enter into some agreement with the Republic for their payment, and that then they would be obliged to depart, induced them, through their commanders, to be discontented with the sum which had been first offered them. To profit by the neighborhood of these troops so favourable to the designs of the conspirators, they charged Nolot, by an express, to represent to the Viceroy that during all this month they would have nearly five thousand men devoted to them. Nolot did not neglect his duty, but the Viceroy, who had not yet digested his anger, amused him so long that after waiting six weeks, the commanders, fearing that their soldiers, who suffered extremely, would enter into some agreement without them, commenced a treaty with the consent of the conspirators, who did not think they possessed the power of preventing them.

Ten days afterward Nolot arrived from Naples with the resolves of the Duke of Ossuno which were all that could be wished, but addressed to Robert Brulard, one of the comrades of the Captain. The Ambassador and Pierre, who thought it best to proceed in the affair as fast as

possible, did not deign to notice the affront intended them by the Viceroy. They learned that he was ready to send them, when needed, boats and brigantines, and other small vessels proper for the ports and the canals of Venice, and in a sufficient number to contain six thousand men if necessary. Nolot had seen the troops and the vessels ready to sail, and the Captain sounded the canals through which they must pass to land at the place of St. Mark. As he had many seamen at his disposal, on account of the command he held, who could pass through these canals as often as they wished, it was easy for him to take the dimensions with exactness.

Nothing remained but to prevent the departure of the troops of Lievestein. Money was not spared, and the rigour of the season served as a pretence for their delay. The greatest part yet remained at the Lazaretto, and those who had already embarked when Nolot arrived stopped in places not far distant.

To relieve Renault and Pierre from the cares with which they were overwhelmed and for which they were not sufficient, it was thought necessary to employ eighteen men more, at the least, who should be persons of intelligence and courage, upon whom they could entirely depend. They had composed this number of the nine

with whom Renault had negotiated in Friuli, and the principal of those whom Pierre had drawn from Naples. These were five Captains of vessels, like himself, Vincent Robert of Marseilles, Laurent Nolot and Robert Brulard who have been already mentioned. These two last were Franks-Comptois as well as another Brulard named Laurent, and a Provencal called Antoine Jaffier. There were also two brothers from Lorraine, Charles and John Boleau, an Italian, John Rizzardo, three excellent petardeers, and a Frenchman named L'Anglade, who, it was said, excelled every one as a skilful artificer of fireworks. The talent of this last was so well known that he had obtained leave to work in the Arsenal. By this means the petardeers, his companions, had a free entrance there; also Villa-Merzana and Retrossi, who were two of those gained by Renault, and who had once been employed there.

These six persons drew a plan so exact of the interior that those who had never been there could act with as much certainty as those who had drawn it. They were much assisted in this work by two officers of the Arsenal whom Pierre had bribed. They had appeared to him discontented with their employment and endowed with qualities proper for his design, capable of entering

into it, should they find it for their interest, and faithfully to fulfil what they would promise. His success answered to the opinion which he had formed of them. He seasoned the praises of which he was prodigal, on all occasions, with a large number of Spanish pistoles, with the understanding that they should blindly follow his directions.

L'Anglade and these two officers lodged in the Arsenal. Renault had taken with him to the house of the French Ambassador, three of his friends, Bribe, Brainville, and Laurent Brulard. The three petardeers lived with the Marquis of Bedemar, who furnished them with powder and other materials, also with the instruments necessary for their work, but without having any communication with them. They had already made more petards and fire works than were requisite, and the palace of the Ambassador was so full of them that it was impossible to accommodate more persons. Pierre remained in the house he generally occupied, but alone, that he might not be suspected in case of his being watched; the others he had lodged at the house of the courtisan where he had first met Renault. Esteem and friendship had taken place of the love they had felt for this woman, and their

knowledge of her adventures convinced them they could not have chosen more judiciously.

She was from one of the Grecian islands of the Archipelago, and as noble as one could be, under the dominion of Venice, without being Venetian. The commander of the island had seduced her under false promises, and had afterward assassinated her father because he wished to oblige this Venetian to fulfil his word. The daughter had come to Venice to demand justice for this murder, but without effect, and this pursuit having consumed the little property she possessed, her beauty relieved the misery which it had first caused. There is no resentment more violent than that of a person of good birth reduced to an occupation unworthy of them. She heard with delight of the project of her two friends, and was willing to risk every thing to promote it. She hired one of the largest houses in Venice, and under pretence of making some alterations she had but part of her furniture taken to it, that there might be some apparent reason for her still retaining the one she had before occupied, and which was not far distant.

It was in these two houses that eleven of the principal conspirators lived for nearly six months. As her abode was the resort of both genteel foreigners and Venetians, and as so many visitors

might occasion a discovery of her lodgers, she feigned illness that she might not be troubled with them. Those who know with what politeness women of this profession are treated in Italy, can easily comprehend that her habitation by this means, became an impenetrable solitude to those whom she did not wish to receive. The conspirators never went out but at night, and that she might be at entire liberty, the meetings were held during the day.

In these meetings Renault and Pierre proposed those things which had already been agreed upon between them and the Marquis of Bedemar, that they might have the opinions of the company and resolve upon means to execute them. When it was necessary for them to go to the palace of the Marquis, it was with all the circumspection requisite in a country and at a time when the residences of the ambassadors were watched as if they had been those of enemies, and particularly that of the Spanish ambassador. They had agreed for some time that they ought to have a thousand soldiers in Venice before the execution of their plan, and as it was dangerous for them to enter armed, the Marquis of Bedemar would provide arms for more than five hundred. It was easy for him to procure them secretly as the gondolas of the ambassadors were never searched

from whatever place they came, so that now there was but wanting an occasion for these thousand men to enter Venice without being remarked.

The doge Donato died, and they appointed in his place Antonio Priuli, who was in Friuli overseeing the performance of the treaties. The commander of the fleet was ordered to go for him. The grand chancellor and the secretaries of state also met him bearing the ducal bonnet. Twelve of the principal Senators followed soon after as ambassadors of the Republic, each one of them in an armed brigantine magnificently decorated and with a great retinue. Even the Senate in a body went a considerable distance in the Bucen-taur to meet him and conduct him to the city, attended by this numerous train.

As it seldom happened that those who were elected doges were out of Venice, this pomp attracted a great number of curious people. The Marquis of Bedemar, who had foreseen it as soon as he knew of the election of Priuli, despatched Nolot a second time to Naples with an order to see to the departure, with the utmost expedition, of the brigantines of the Duke of Ossuno. That there might be no pretence for delay, Pierre was directed to send to the Duke as exact a plan as could be executed of their project, and to give him an account of all that had passed at Venice

during the first journey of Nolot. The corsair increased his value by this precaution ; he wished to manage the mind of the Viceroy on all subjects, and to convince him he had no reason to complain of him he finished his despatch by these words: "I accuse the negligence of Nolot for his long residence at Naples, for I do not doubt had he represented things as they were, your excellency would have hastened him. He must have demanded money, or something of the kind, but he had express orders to the contrary, and I again offer to hold Venice in my power for six months, should there be need of it, in waiting for the large fleet of your excellency, provided that you will send me the brigantines as soon as Nolot arrives, with the 6000 men you have offered." This letter was dated the 7th of April, the day of Nolot's departure.

Renault ordered all the officers of the bribed troops to proceed to Venice, that they might become acquainted with the city, and obtain a thorough knowledge of the different stations, that there might be no mistake on the night of the execution of the plot. Before coming they chose a thousand men from amongst the Dutch troops, who were to hold themselves in readiness to march at any moment, and that the absence of these thousand men should be less remarked

they took them equally from all the places on the mainland where they had been dispersed. To accommodate so many people these officers hired as many lodgings as could be obtained without exciting suspicion, giving as a reason to the landlords, that they were for strangers coming to witness the fete. The officers themselves lodged with courtisans, where, in paying well, they were in greater security than they would have been in any other place.

Nothing now remained but to regulate the order of the performance, and the Marquis of Bedemar, Renault and the Captain together, concerted the following.

“ As soon as it should be night, those of the one thousand soldiers who had come without arms should equip themselves at the Ambassador's. Five hundred of them should go to the place of St. Mark with Pierre, and the greatest part of the other five hundred should join Renault near the Arsenal ; the rest should seize all the boats, gondolas, and other vessels of the kind which they could find at the bridge of the Rialto, and should proceed with the utmost expedition to the Lazaretto for the thousand soldiers of Lievestein who yet remained there. During this voyage they should conduct themselves as peaceably as possible that they might not be obliged to declare

themselves before the arrival of the troops. If, however, any thing should occur to discover them, Pierre should intrench himself in the place of St. Mark, Renault seize the Arsenal in the manner which would be described, and they should then fire two cannon to serve as a signal to the brigantines of the Duke of Ossuno, who would be ready to enter Venice, and the Spaniards they brought would supply the place of the Wallons, for whom they had sent.

“ If, however, they met with no interruption during their voyage, when these Wallons should have landed at the place of St. Mark, Pierre should take another five hundred with the five hundred men he already had, and the sergeant-major Durand to command them. They would begin by placing in order of battle these thousand men, then Pierre should take two hundred, and render himself master of the ducal palace, and particularly of the Armoury, that he might supply those who were deficient in arms, and prevent their enemies from making use of it. One hundred under Bribe obtain command of La Secque, and one hundred more headed by Brainville should take the Procuratie, by means of several men whom they should contrive to introduce into the steeple during the day. These last hundred should remain as a guard whilst the performance

lasted, so as to prevent an alarm being sounded. They should also occupy all the streets leading to the square with other guards, and place at the entrances artillery pointed towards the street. Whilst waiting for the possession of the Arsenal, they should seize the galleys of the council of ten, which were near, and could be obtained without difficulty. In all those places of which they become masters, they should establish guards, and indiscriminately assassinate all whom they met; and during these several performances around the place of St. Mark, the sergeant-major should remain drawn up in the centre with the rest of the troops, and all must be effected with the least possible noise.

“Immediately afterward they should commence discovering themselves by blowing up the door of the Arsenal. At this noise the eight conspirators who had drawn a plan of it, and who would be within, should place fire in the four corners with fire-works prepared for this purpose, at the house of the Ambassador, and should poinard the principal commanders. This could be easily accomplished amidst the confusion which the fire and the noise of the petards would occasion, particularly as they were not suspected by these commanders. They should then join Renault, who, as soon as he entered

would assist them in killing the remainder, and the soldiers would place the artillery in the most suitable parts of the city, such as the Arena de Mari, the Fontego de Tedeschi, the salt magazines, upon the steeple of the Procuratie, on the Rialto, and other conspicuous stations, from which they might reduce the city to ruins in case of resistance. At the same time that Renault blew up the Arsenal, Pierre should force the prison of St. Mark, and arm the prisoners; they would murder the principal Senators, and those persons who were suborned, should set fire to four places of the city distant as possible from each other that the confusion might be greater.

“The Spaniards of the Duke of Ossuno, on hearing the signal which should be given them, before conquering the Arsenal, were to land at the place of St. Mark, and scatter themselves through the chief quarters of the city, such as St. George, the quarter of the Jews, &c. conducted by nine of the principal conspirators.

“They should cry nothing but *Liberty*; and after all these events should have taken place pillage would be permitted excepting amongst the foreigners, from whom it would be forbidden them to take any thing under penalty of their lives. And none were to be injured unless they showed great resistance.”

Nolot found things in so good a condition on arriving at Naples that the six thousand men were shipped the next day under the command of an Englishman named Hailot. To give less suspicion, the Duke of Ossuno sent his large vessels a considerable distance round to arrive at their stations, but Hailot with the brigantines took the shortest course. On the second day of their voyage this little fleet was overtaken by Barbary corsairs who attacked them. As they were only prepared to serve as vehicles for the men they carried, and not for battle, they were much harrassed by the cannon of the barbarians whose brigantines were more manageable and better armed. Although the quantity of persons who filled the Neapolitan fleet hardly left them space sufficient to defend themselves with order, yet as they were all chosen Spaniards, and gave such heavy blows to such as attempted to board them, that the corsairs would perhaps have repented disturbing their voyage had they not both been dispersed by a furious tempest which separated them in the heat of the combat. The little fleet was so much damaged that it was some time before it could again put to sea.

The Marquis of Bedemar perceiving by this news that he could not trouble the approaching fete, assisted at it with the utmost magnificence.

He declared in full Senate, in making his compliments to the new doge, that the joy which he personally felt at his elevation proceeded from a hope that his serenity would preserve on the throne the favourable disposition he had shown in Friuli for the accomplishment of peace.

In going from this audience he sent for Renault and Pierre and demanded of them if they thought it best to abandon the enterprise. They replied, that not only were they of a contrary opinion, but that their companions had not appeared more shaken by the misfortune of the fleet than if it had arrived safely in port, and that they were all ready to take the necessary means to maintain the party in its present state until a more favourable occasion should occur. The Ambassador, who had asked this question with trembling, embraced them with tears of joy after this answer. He spoke to them with a gaiety and vehemence which would have removed all fear, and inspired intrepidity and audacity into the most cowardly. He said that reverses which in common affairs might overcome the soul, were accidents that were natural in extraordinary enterprises, and they were the only means of testing greatness of mind. That they were only capable of achieving a great design

after once having seen it overthrown with tranquillity and firmness.

It was at last resolved between the Marquis and his two confidants that they should defer the execution of their design until the festival of the Ascension, which was not far distant, and which was celebrated with great solemnity at Venice. In waiting for it they would retain the troops where they then were, furnishing them with every convenience, and not be sparing of money to the commanders for this effect. That of the three hundred who were in Venice they should dismiss but a part, keeping the others as hostages for their fidelity. That the subalterns should be sent to their troops both to restrain the soldiers in their duty and to get them from the city where so large a number of officers might become suspected. That they should occupy in the most agreeable manner possible those who remained that they might not become tired of waiting, or have leisure to reflect on the actual state of things. It was necessary the twenty chief conspirators should carefully observe their conduct; and to oblige the Republic to suffer the detention of the troops of Lievestein, and not to dismiss those of Nassau, the Governor of Milan and the Viceroy of Naples should not execute the articles of the treaty.

All that the human mind could imagine of pretences, however unreasonable, were invented by the Marquis of Bedemar, and put in practice by Don Pedro and the Duke of Ossuno. Notwithstanding they were every day forced to take some steps towards concluding a peace. The council of Spain did not dare to depend entirely upon the success of so doubtful an enterprise as the conspiracy, and France, who wished to support the treaty of Paris, obliged the Venetians to consent that the Duke of Savoy should disband the troops who had remained in the "pays de Vaud," and who served as an excuse for the delays of Don Pedro. At this new difficulty the Marquis of Bedemar endeavored to prevent the rendering back of those places which had been taken in Monferrat, by the rumour, that as soon as the Duke of Mantua should be established there, he would enter into an agreement with the Spaniards.

At the same time Don Pedro quarrelled, without reason, with a minister from Savoy, who had accompanied the French Ambassadors to Milan, and commanded him to leave the place. The Duke, irritated by this insult, recalled them and ceased to evacuate the contested places; but the Ambassadors making him understand that he was falling into the snare spread for him by

Don Pedro, he suddenly surrendered all which had been taken. The astonishment of Don Pedro was so great at this news, that he could not prevent showing it in public by his conversation. It was necessary for him to give up his prisoners and all the small places, but for Verceil, which was the important point, he made such strange difficulties that Spain menaced to recall him before the usual time. As an excuse he said it would be disgraceful for him to surrender that place whilst the French Ambassadors remained at Milan, as if he was forced to it by their presence. They retired; he then declared that the Duke of Savoy must first restore certain territories belonging to the ministers from Mantua; these territories were yielded, but still Verceil was withheld. At last France, who wished to conclude the marriage of Madam Christian, sister of his Majesty, with the Prince of Piedmont, explained herself in so decided a manner in regard to this place, that Don Pedro began to send away, but with incredible slowness, the ammunition and artillery which it contained. The Marquis of Bedemar having requested him to retard yet more his movements, he exacted new securities from the Duke of Savoy in favor of the Duke of Mantua, but the Mantuan ministers themselves, tired of so many delays, declared by a

public decree that they did not demand these securities.

Whatever chagrin this declaration caused the Marquis of Bedemar, the conduct of the Duke of Ossuno occasioned much more. This Duke, fatigued by the complaints which were every where made of him by the Venetians for troubling the navigation of the gulf, no longer knowing what to say in his defence, at last answered that he should continue to do so as long as the Venetians retained in their employ the most inveterate enemies of the king his master. It was easy to judge, by the care the Ambassador had taken to detain the Dutch troops, of whom the Duke of Ossuno complained, what his despair must have been at this answer of the Viceroy's. He had no doubt that the Senate, who wished for peace at any price, would immediately dismiss them that the Viceroy might have no excuse. But success, for once, deceived even the prudence of the Marquis of Bedemar.

Some demon favourable to the caprices of the Duke of Ossuno, made the Venetians adopt a resolution directly contrary to their inclination and their interest. It was represented to the Senate that the Republic had shown too evidently its great desire for peace, and it was that which made the Spanish ministers so difficult in

concluding it; that if they satisfied the Viceroy in his demand he would believe he could give laws to Venice, and that so far from disbanding the Dutch, they ought to retain the troops of Lievestein, who were soon to depart, until the consummation of the treaty.

The joy which this resolution occasioned in the Marquis of Bedemar was troubled by the discovery of the plot at Crema. L' Alfier, a provencal, and an Italian Captain, whom they had bribed, had quarrelled at play and fought; the Captain was mortally wounded, and to relieve his conscience before he expired, he made a confession to the Venetian commander.

L' Alfier, who suspected what would happen, as soon as he had wounded him, fled with those of his companions to whom he could give warning; the others were taken, and amongst them the French lieutenant, who was the chief of the enterprise. As Renault had only been known as an agent from Milan, and as they were ignorant of what had become of him, the credit of this conspiracy rested entirely upon Don Pedro.

Eight days afterward, the sergeant-major, who was to give up Maran, having retrenched the wages of a valet of the overseer, and a pensioner of the Republic, these persons, outrageous for their loss, took occasion of his absence to enter

his house, broke open his coffers and took possession of his money and papers. They found amongst them letters which spoke of his design. As he had only known the agent of the Duke of Ossuno, with whom he had negotiated, he could accuse none but the Duke ; he however chose a nobler part. He constantly answered in the midst of his torments that he knew nothing could save him whatever he might discover, and that he would rather leave his associates, provided he had any, with power to revenge his death, than to make them perish without any advantage to himself. Thanks to God were publicly rendered in Venice for these two discoveries ; but the success of the enterprise became much more certain than it had ever been, for the Senate believed it had at last discovered the hidden cause of the irregular proceedings of the Spaniards, and seeing these two affairs miscarry, imagined they might now repose quietly, and did not doubt the treaties would be fulfilled.

But the time for action had now arrived. From the Sunday which precedes the Ascension until Pentacost, there is held at Venice one of the most celebrated fairs in the world. The great resort of merchants did not make the city more difficult to surprise, and it gave an opportunity to the thousand soldiers to enter with

them and remain there without being remarked. It was easy for them to leave the Venetian cities in which they were scattered, as for some time past those who were the most anxious to return to their country had deserted, and the pedestas had taken no notice of it, as it reduced the number to be paid by the Republic. Fearing that deserting in such numbers, within so short a time, might excite astonishment, they gave out on leaving that they were going to the fair at Venice. They disguised themselves like people of different professions, and they took care to lodge together with those who spoke a different language that they might not be suspected of any understanding with them, and appeared not to know each other.

The five hundred Spaniards destined to execute the plot at Crema, which had been discovered, were sent at the same time by Don Pedro to the environs of Bresse that they might seize on that city at the first news of the success of the conspiracy, and through the means of the faction which had been formed there by the lieutenant of the Count of Nassau, and which still existed. The commander of these Spaniards was ordered to bring them directly to Venice on the first notice which he should receive from Renault.

The Venetian fleet, which had retired to Dalmatia, was held in readiness to put to sea at the first command, on account of the continual movements of the Duke of Ossuno. Pierre sent to the officers who commanded his twelve vessels during his absence, fire-works of the most violent kind, to distribute secretly throughout the other vessels of the fleet the evening of action. As no one suspected these officers, this was an easy task for them to execute without being perceived. He told them to measure their matches so exactly that they should all take fire at the same time, but if any vessel escaped to attack it and either become masters of it or sink it with their cannon. That they should then proceed immediately to Venice without losing a moment of time. They must be on the spot ready to execute these orders, but should wait for a new mandate before proceeding to fulfil them. The day chosen was the Sunday before Ascension, which was the first of the fair.

The Duke of Ossuno had his little fleet so well escorted this time, that it arrived without any accident six miles from Venice. It was divided into two parts which kept at a distance from each other that they might be the less remarked. The largest was composed of boats like those of fishermen, that they might not occasion suspicion

and the rest consisted of Brigantines, resembling Corsairs. On Saturday morning, word was sent to Haillot to leave his post the next day at an hour necessary for arriving in sight of Venice between day and night, and that he should raise the standard of St. Mark. He must seize some small islands which he would be obliged to pass, and which were without any defence, but from which he might give notice to Venice of his approach. That afterward he should boldly present himself before the two castles of Lido and Malamoco, as it was well known they were not garrisoned and he could pass between them without any obstacle. That he should advance within cannon shot of Venice, and when there he should send notice to Pierre, who, by the return of the boat which brought the news, would despatch sailors to serve as guides lest he should run aground on the banks with which the marshes that surrounded Venice are filled, or be wrecked against the rocks which render the entrance to this port almost inaccessible to those who are not accustomed to it.

As the whole day was requisite to arrange affairs for the performance of the night, Renault and Pierre thought it best to consult with their associates the evening previous for the last time, and Pierre left it to Renault to represent to them

the actual state of things, and give them the necessary advice. Notwithstanding their exertions they could not be assembled until almost night. The party consisted of the three Frenchmen who lodged with Renault, the lieutenant of the Count of Nassau, the three petardeers, L' Anglade, the two officers from the Arsenal, the Captain and the lieutenant who had been employed there, Nolot, the two Brulards, Jaffier, Robert the Hollander, Theodore the Savoyard who was at the scaling of Geneva, and the engineer Revellido. These twenty persons were closeted with Renault and Pierre at the house of the Greek in the most retired part of her dwelling. After the precautions usual in such meetings Renault addressed them.

He commenced by a simple and clear narration of the present state of affairs, of the comparative strength of the Republic, and their own, of the distribution of the city and the fleet, of the preparations of Don Pedro and the Duke of Ossuno, of the arms and other provisions of war that were at the house of the Spanish Ambassador, of the understanding which existed between them and part of the Senate, and amongst the nobles, and at last, of the exact knowledge which they had acquired of every thing necessary to be known. After having received the approbation

of his auditors by the recital of these facts, of whose truth they were as well informed as himself, and which were almost as much the effect of their cares as of his own. "Behold, my friends," continued he, "the road which is destined to conduct you to the glory you seek; each of you can judge if it promises success. We possess infallible means of introducing ten thousand warriors into a city in which there are not two hundred to oppose them, and whose plunder will draw to our side all the foreigners whom curiosity or commerce have attracted there, and the people themselves will aid us to despoil those nobles who have so often oppressed them, as soon as they can do it with safety. The best vessels of the fleet are ours, and the others are with those who will reduce them to ashes. The Arsenal, that famous Arsenal, the wonder of Europe and the terror of Asia, is already in our power. The nine brave men who are here present, and who have been ready to seize it for almost six months, have so well concerted their measures during this delay, that they do not believe they hazard any thing in being ready to answer with their heads for giving us possession of it. If we had neither the troops of the Lazaretto or those of the mainland, the fleet of Haillot to support us, or the five hundred men of Don

Pedro, the twenty Venetian vessels of our companion, the large vessels of the Duke of Ossuno, or the Spanish army in Lombardy, our own strength with our knowledge and our thousand soldiers would prove enough for the success of our undertaking. However, the different resources I have just named are so disposed that either of them might fail without being prejudicial to the others; they might be of mutual service, but they could not injure each other. It is almost impossible for them all to succeed, but one alone is sufficient.

“That if, after having taken every precaution that human prudence can suggest, we may judge of the success which fortune destines us, what other token can we desire of her favor than those we have already received? Yes, my friends, prodigies evidently work for us. It is an unheard of event in any history that an enterprise of this nature should be partly discovered without being entirely ruined, and ours has already experienced five reverses, the least of which in all human probability would have been sufficient to overthrow it. Who would not have believed that the loss of Spinosa, who was intriguing for us, would have occasioned ours? That the disbanding of the troops of Lievestein, who were devoted to us, would have revealed what we

were endeavoring to keep concealed? That the dispersion of the little fleet would have disconcerted all our measures, and have been a fruitful source of new inconveniences? That the discoveries at Crema and Maran would have necessarily betrayed the whole party? However, all these events have produced no serious consequences, the track has not been followed that would have conducted them to us, and they have not profited by the light which has been given them. Such profound repose has never before preceded so great a revolution. We are confidently assured that the Senate rests in perfect security. Our protecting genius has blinded the most clear sighted, given confidence to the timid, lulled to rest the suspicious, and confounded the cunning. We are yet alive, my dear friends, we are even more powerful than we were before these disasters. They have served but to try our constancy. We live, and our lives will soon prove mortal to the tyrants of this place.

“Can such extraordinary good fortune be natural? Have we not cause to presume it is the work of some superintending power? And in reality, my colleagues, what is there on earth worthy of the protection of heaven if it be not an enterprise like ours? We shall destroy the most detestable of governments, we shall restore to

the poor subjects of this state that of which the rapacity of the nobles would have forever deprived them; we shall save the honor of all those women who might be born hereafter under their dominion with sufficient charms to attract them; we shall recall to life an infinite number of unhappy beings whom their cruelty is ready to sacrifice to their slightest resentment and for the most trifling causes. In a word we shall punish those men who the most deserve it, and who are equally blackened with vices which nature abhors and which modesty scarce suffers.

“ Do not, then, let us fear to take a sword in one hand and a torch in the other, to exterminate these wretches. And when we shall see that palace, where impiety sits enthroned, burning with a fire proceeding rather from heaven than from us, those tribunals, sullied with the tears and the wealth of innocence, consumed by devouring flames, the infuriated soldiers drawing their hands reeking from the breasts of the wicked, death surrounding all and the most frightful spectacles that night and military license can produce, let us then remember, my dear friends, that there is nothing pure amongst men, that the most praiseworthy actions are subject to the greatest evils, and at last, that in this place, where so many crimes desolate the earth, the

tumult of the coming night will be the only means of obtaining the everlasting reign of peace, innocence and liberty.”

This discourse was listened to by the assembly with that complacency with which men generally receive sentiments conformable to their own. Nevertheless Renault, who had observed their countenances, remarked that Jaffier, one of the best friends of the Captain, suddenly changed from extreme attention to an anxiety which he endeavored in vain to conceal, and that there remained in his eyes an expression of astonishment and sadness which proved him overcome by horror. He spoke of it to Pierre, who at first ridiculed it; but after having observed Jaffier for some time was of the same opinion. Renault, who perfectly understood the resemblance and connexion which exist between the most secret movements of the soul, and the exterior demonstrations which escape during great agitations of mind, having deliberately examined the manner and countenance of Jaffier, thought it his duty to declare to Pierre that he did not believe that he was to be trusted.

Pierre, who knew Jaffier to be one of the bravest men in the world, accused him of judging too precipitately, but Renault having determined to justify his suspicion, explained so clearly his

reasons and their consequences, that although Pierre could not feel them so sensibly, he at least agreed that Jaffier was a man to be watched. He, however, represented to Renault that even if Jaffier was shaken in his purpose, which he could hardly believe, there was not sufficient time before the next evening for him to resolve to betray them, and that in the situation of their affairs they could not possibly take any new measures, and it was a risk they would therefore be obliged to run. Renault replied that there was one sure way of not being exposed to it, and that was to assassinate Jaffier that evening. Pierre remained some time mute at this proposal, but he at last answered that he could not resolve to murder his best friend upon a mere suspicion. That the assassination might be productive of very bad consequences, that he feared it might terrify their associates and appear odious to them, as it would make them suppose that they considered themselves possessed of full power over them, and were the sovereign arbiters of life and death. They could not hope that all would understand the necessity of removing Jaffier in the way that they themselves believed proper, and that not comprehending it, each conspirator would see, with regret, his life exposed at the slightest suspicion like that which they

then felt. That when minds were much agitated it took but little to change them, and that any alteration made under such excitement was always of the utmost importance, as all their resolutions were then in the extreme; that if they wished to conceal the cause of the disappearance of Jaffier, it was more to be feared that they would believe he was discovered and had fled, or was a prisoner, or traitor, and that having a distinguished part assigned him, whatever pretence they might invent, his absence on the evening of performance would intimidate them, and suggest sad thoughts.

Renault listened attentively to the discourse of Pierre, when one of their people entered with an order from the Senate, which had just been received, directing the Captain to embark all those officers on the next morning who had any command in the fleet. At the same time a note was brought from the Ambassador discovering the cause of this order. The Duke of Ossuno had not been able to leave Naples to join his large vessels so secretly but that the spies of the Republic discovered it. As he had left an order that no conveyance for Venice should be furnished within a certain time, all the letters addressed to that place had been detained, and the Venetians could not sooner receive notice of his

departure. The Archduke, newly elected king of Bohemia, had demanded assistance from him against the rebels of that country, who had begun to make a movement, and the Viceroy having boasted he would bring these succours by the gulf to the ports of the Archduke in Istria, the Venetians had requested him, through this prince himself, to take another route. But as he was never actuated by reasons which govern other men, when they knew that he had joined the fleet they did not doubt that his intentions were himself to conduct these troops the way on which he had first resolved. They did not wish to dispute the passage with him, as they could easily have done, because they did not seek a rupture, but they sent their fleet to the coast of Istria where he would land his troops, to observe them and to preserve them from the various temptations to which they might be exposed by a sight of their seaports.

The firmness of men frequently proceeds from a vivid idea of the danger in which they are placed. By means of this imagination the soul becomes familiarised with all the circumstances connected with this peril, however frightful they may be; but all their resolution is attached to these circumstances alone, and if any thing oc-

curs to change their nature the firmest constancy is in danger of being overcome.

Renault and Pierre feared this might be the case with their associates at this unexpected embarkation of the Venetian squadron, and they heard this news with real sorrow, as they feared they might be obliged, notwithstanding all their resources, to alter in some way the manner in which they had first intended to execute their enterprise. If the night had not been so far advanced the plot could have been consummated at the moment; but day-light would appear before they could warn the little fleet to approach within cannon shot of Venice, where it ought to be stationed at the commencement of the action, or to summon the troops who were at the Lazeretto. As the Venetians would sail on the next day, if Haillot should pursue the plan first intended, he would meet people going from Venice to join the fleet. The departure of the squadron was as favourable a circumstance as the conspirators could wish for, as it would place Haillot between it and the city, and they at last agreed that it would be best to give it time to proceed some distance. The greatest difficulty was to resolve whether Pierre, L' Anglade, the three petardeers with the other conspirators who had been ordered by the Senate to join the squadron,

should obey. Their presence appeared indispensable at Venice, especially that of Pierre. However, he was the one who could least dispense with going, the important command he held in the fleet would render his absence more remarkable than all the others together. As the greatest part of them were employed about his vessels, he could supply the want of them by his authority if he was present, and prevent their absence from being perceived. These reasons determined him to depart with L' Anglade alone, whose employment in the fleet depended on the commander-in-chief, as did also that of the three petardeers; but for these three last he had rather hazard making an excuse than to take them with him. The commander asked for them as soon as he saw Pierre, who replied, he believed them to be concealed at the houses of courtisans, as also some officers of his vessels that he could not find, and that the precipitation with which he had obeyed orders had left him no time to discover them. The departure of the commander was so much pressed by the Senate that he had no time to send for them, much less to wait until they were found.

Before embarking Pierre had spoken to Jaffier alone; he prayed him to keep his place near to Renault the night of the execution. He exag-

gerated the confidence that was placed in his courage and prudence, and that unless he had been assured of it he would never have had the resolution to leave, but he believed he left another self to his associates in Jaffier. During this conversation Pierre observed him with attention, but he was so much overcome with these poofs of the esteem in which he was held that he answered with such marks of zeal and gratitude as would have satisfied the most suspicious man. It was the last effort of his dying resolution, it disappeared with the face of his friend, and no longer having before his eyes the only man who could restrain him, he abandoned himself entirely to his doubts.

The description which Renault had given, at the end of his speech, of the night of the completion of the conspiracy, had struck him so forcibly that he could not moderate his emotions of pity. His imagination dwelt upon this picture. It represented in the most lively colors all the cruelty and injustice that would be inevitable on such an occasion. From that moment he heard on all sides the cries of children trodden under feet, the groans of old men murdered, and the shrieks of women dishonored. He saw palaces falling, temples on fire, and holy places covered with blood. Venice, sad, unhappy Venice, was

no longer present to his eyes, as triumphant over the Ottoman and the proud Spaniard, but in ashes or in chains swimming in the ensanguined tide of its inhabitants rather than in the waters that surrounded it.

This sad image pursued him night and day. It disturbed, excited and overcame him. In vain he endeavored to fly from it. More obstinate than the fabled furies, it occupied him at his repast, it troubled his repose, it entered even into his dreams. But to betray his friends! and such friends, so intrepid, so intelligent, and each remarkable for some great talent. It would be the work of ages to again unite so large a number of extraordinary men. At the moment when they would forever render themselves memorable to posterity, should he snatch from them the fruit ready to be gathered of the most wonderful resolution that had ever entered into the mind of man. And how would they perish? By torments more dreadful than any invented by tyrants in past ages. Who does not know that there are prisons in Venice more capable of overcoming the firmness of the bravest man, than the most frightful deaths of other countries? These last reflexions, which attacked Jaffier in his weakest part, confirmed him in his first intentions. The pity which he felt for his companions balanced

that which the desolation of Venice excited, and he continued in this uncertainty until the day of Ascension to which the performance of the plot had been deferred.

In the morning they received news from Pierre. He told them he could answer for the fleet, that it would be stationed near Maran, and that when they sent to the Lazaretto for the troops of Lievestein they must send a boat to give him notice, and he should wait for this notice before he commenced his own operations. They gave to Hailot the guides that were promised him, and introduced into the steeple of the Procuratie of St. Mark, men who being acquainted with the guards, contrived to mingle soporific drugs with their drink, and also persuaded them to indulge themselves to excess on account of the public rejoicings of the day. Orders were given to some chosen officers to seize the houses of those Senators who were the most to be feared, and put them to death. To each was assigned a particular house, and also to the principal conspirators and the other officers the post which he must occupy, the men he would need, where he should obtain them, the watch word by which they were to be known, and the road to conduct them. They also made known to the troops of the Lazaretto, the Span-

iards of the fleet of Haillot, and to the thousand Hollanders, who were already in Venice, in what way they should proceed to the place of St. Mark, where they were all to meet, the places they were to occupy, the commanders who were appointed for them and the pass-word. They sent persons, the least liable to suspicion, to visit the galley of the council of ten, who found the artillery in a state to answer their purpose.

Jaffier had the curiosity to witness the ceremony of the Doge espousing the sea, as he believed it was the last time it would ever take place. His compassion was redoubled at the sight of the public rejoicings; the tranquillity of the unhappy Venetians made him feel more sensibly their approaching desolation, and he returned more irresolute than ever. But heaven at last would not abandon the work of twelve ages, and of so much wisdom, to the fury of a courtesan and a troop of desperate men.

The good genius of the Republic suggested an expedient to Jaffier, by which he believed he could at once save Venice and his associates. He sought Barthelemi Comino, secretary of the council of ten, and told him he had some pressing news to communicate which nearly concerned the safety of the state, but beforehand he wished the Doge and the council to promise him one favor

and that they must engage, by the most sacred oaths, that the senate should ratify their promise; that this favor consisted of the lives and safety of twenty-two persons whom he would name, whatever crime they might have committed. But they need not suppose they could force his secret from him by tortures without granting his request, as there were none so horrible that could draw one single word from his mouth. The Ten were assembled in a moment, and they sent immediately to the Doge to receive from him the promise that Jaffier demanded. He did not hesitate more than themselves in giving it, and Jaffier, perfectly contented, discovered the conspiracy.

It appeared to them so horrible and so wonderful that they could not believe it. But as it was easy for them to discover the truth, they sent Comino to the steeple of the Procuratie for that purpose. He brought back word that he had found all the guards intoxicated or asleep. He was then despatched to the Arsenal. It was some time before he could find the officers, who were bribed, but at last, a servant intimidated by his menaces, showed a small door, which he broke open, after having knocked at it several times without effect. They were discovered with the three petardeers putting the finishing stroke to some fire works destined for the plot. He de-

manded of them why they worked on a festival day, and why they had not opened the door when he knocked. They answered, with great ingenuity, that the petardeers were to join the fleet the next day, and the commander had written them to bring a large quantity of fire-works ready for use; that they had not found as many made as had been ordered, and they had requested the officers to assist them in their work, and as it might be of consequence they had dispensed with keeping the festival. That they might do it without scandal they had shut themselves up as he had found them, in the most retired part of the Arsenal. Although Comino had nothing to say to this answer, he caused them all to be arrested.

The ten, more and more alarmed, sent to the house of the Greek, but found no one. The men who had drugged the wine of the guards had appeared to be asleep when they saw Comino enter, but he had hardly left them before they ran to the house of the courtesan, where they so well succeeded in giving the alarm, that, without losing a moment, Nolot, Robert, Revellido, Retrosi, Villa-Mezzana, Durand, Ternon and Robert Brulard, who were there by chance, threw themselves into a boat which they had kept at the

Rialto to send for the troops at the Lazaretto, and happily escaped from Venice.

The sorrow which was felt by the council of ten for their escape, made them resolve to visit the houses of the French and Spanish Ambassadors without delay. They politely requested admittance on affairs that nearly concerned the safety of the republic. The French Ambassador immediately accorded it, and Renault was taken with Laurent Brulard and Bribe. The Spanish Ambassador refused, with anger, to receive them. He alleged the privileges of his situation, and protested with fury against the violence they were committing in forcing an entrance. There was found sufficient arms to equip five hundred men, sixty petards, and an enormous quantity of powder, fire-works, and other things of the kind. An exact inventory was taken, and they were assisted by the Marquis of Bedemar, who at the same time ridiculed them.

At the time they were taking this inventory to the council of ten, a nobleman of the house of Valiera arrived with Brainville and Theodore, two of the principal conspirators. They had heard that all was discovered, and despairing of saving themselves, as all the ports were closed since the escape from the Greek's, they adopted the plan of appearing to discover the conspiracy,

and for this purpose they had sought this nobleman whom they had known in Flanders, for him to conduct them to the council of ten, where they were arrested. All the taverns, hotels, chambers that were let, and every place where strangers could conceal themselves were searched; and they arrested all the Dutch, French, Spanish, Wallon, Neapolitan and Milanese officers they could find, and who amounted to nearly four hundred.

Whilst these things were taking place two Dauphinese arrived from Orange, equipped in a manner which showed they had thrown themselves into the boat which brought them, immediately on quitting their horses. They declared to the council that some Frenchmen, friends of theirs in Venice, had written, inviting them, if they wished to enrich themselves, to come immediately there, as a conspiracy was ready to be executed to seize that city and give it up to plunder; but instead of profiting by the information in the way intended, they had hurried to give notice of the infamous design. They were thanked, lodged honorably, and requested to repose themselves until the Senate could deliberate upon the recompense due them.

But at last day-light appeared, the Senate assembled, and the Marquis of Bedemar demanded

an audience. They granted it from curiosity alone. The noise of the conspiracy had spread through the city and produced a frightful disturbance. The people who indistinctly knew that the Spaniards were the authors of it, assembled around the palace of the Ambassador, to force an entrance, and they were ready to put fire to it when those who were to conduct him to the audience arrived. Their commission was made known, and the people, flattering themselves the Senate would inflict on him an exemplary punishment, allowed him to depart, accompanying him and loading him with all the abuse and imprecations imaginable.

The Ambassador, having entered the Senate, commenced by atrocious complaints of the violence which had been committed in his house contrary to the rights of nations, and he accompanied these complaints with menaces of vengeance so fierce and cruel that the greater part of the Senators were in consternation, and feared that this man had yet some resource unknown to them by which to achieve his enterprise. The Doge replied to him that an apology should be made for this outrage when he would give a reason for the warlike preparations discovered in his palace, when as Ambassador he ought to be a minister of peace. He answered that he was

astonished that persons who were generally accounted so wise should be so inexperienced as to insult him under so gross a pretext; that they knew as well as himself that these provisions were only deposited in his house, as they had often been before, to send to Naples and to the Tyrol; and as for the arms, all the world knew that there were none so good as those manufactured in the cities of the Republic; for the fire works and other things of the kind, he had seized the occasion of some workmen offering themselves to him, of extraordinary skill, to gratify his curiosity.

The Doge interrupted him by saying these workmen were worthless beings, or rather monsters born for the eternal shame of the human race, and at the same time he presented the Ambassador with a letter of recommendation to the governor of Milan, which had been found amongst the papers of Renault with other letters of the Duke of Ossuno.

The Marquis of Bedemar replied, as for the Duke of Ossuno, he had before declared he had no knowledge of his movements; that it was true the French Ambassador had recommended to him a gentleman some time since, who having business of his own at Milan, and wishing for an introduction to the Governor, he had given him

the letter they had just presented him, but that he was entirely ignorant the Republic had any concern in this affair.

The Doge seeing by these replies that the Ambassador would never fail in excuses, was contented to represent to him with much gravity the turpitude of his enterprise, and ended by protesting he was far from thinking that the king his master had been the least concerned in it. The Marquis of Bedemar answered to this remonstrance with all the emotion a man would feel whose honor was unjustly attacked, that he belonged to a nation to whom valor and prudence were so natural that they were under no necessity of resorting to artifices to overcome their enemies, that the king his master was powerful enough to destroy them by open force without employing treason, and they would soon feel the truth of it. He left them abruptly without any ceremony, after these words. Those who escorted him requested he would remain a short time in an adjoining apartment, while the Senate should give the necessary orders for his safety; he allowed them to conduct him where they pleased, trembling with anger, and without replying.

While the populace were assembling in the place of St. Mark to tear him in pieces, as soon

as the Senate should abandon him to their fury, it was easy for those who were sent to his house, to oblige his domestics to embark with his most valuable furniture. They then immediately came for him, and by secret passages in the palace conducted him to a brigantine well armed and with a good escort. The people, enraged at his escape, made effigies of him and the Duke of Ossuno, to which they offered all the cruelties that would have been inflicted on their persons had they fallen into the power of this multitude.

At the same time orders were sent to the admiral to drown instantly L' Anglade, Pierre, and all the confidential officers of the Captain who were in his vessels. As it was supposed they would be on their guard, a vessel was chosen of the most foreign make that could be found in Venice, to take this order. They equipped it in a manner to deceive them into a belief that it came from some other place, and it made a circle round to arrive on the opposite side to what it would have done had it come from the city. It was afterward known that the Captain had been watching all night, and having seen the arrival of this ship, he had retired to the largest of his vessels as if he felt in doubt about it, and wished to defend himself if betrayed. But it appeared that the fear of losing all by a terror which

might be groundless, had taken up sometime in deliberating whether he should at once offer resistance. And the Admiral, who lost not a moment, having sent men whom he had chosen as being least suspicious, they entered without any apparent arms, and finding him alone they approached him with as unconstrained an air as usual, and with one stroke stabbed him and threw him into the sea without being perceived by any one. L' Anglade and forty of his officers were soon treated in the same manner and with like secrecy.

Renault being interrogated at Venice, replied that he knew nothing of what they wished to be informed. He was shown the letter of recommendation to Don Pedro, a passport in Spanish for all the countries under the dominion of Spain, letters of credit for large sums and a thousand pistoles in gold. He answered that he neither knew the Spanish Ambassador nor the Governor of Milan, and that if there was any thing amongst his papers concerning them some other person must have placed it there. As for the letters of credit and the pistoles, they were all the property he possessed in the world. They applied to him the question ordinary and extraordinary. He said nothing new but that he was a poor old man of quality and honor, and that

God would avenge him. They put him to the rack many days in succession, and even promised him pardon if he would tell all he knew, but could extort nothing more from him, and after having been tormented in every way at many different times, he was strangled in prison, and publicly hung by one foot as a traitor. The lieutenant of the Count of Nassau, the three petardeers, Bribe, Laurent Brulard, and the two officers of the Arsenal suffered the same death after having sustained the torture with the same constancy; but Brainville, Theodore, and more than three hundred officers were only strangled or drowned secretly.

However, Jaffier, in despair at the bad success of his compassion, complained loudly that the Doge and the council of ten did not keep the word they had given him in favor of his companions. It had not been violated until after mature deliberation. Many even wished it to be religiously observed. Others remonstrated that the affair might have been doubtful if they had only known of the conspiracy through Jaffier; but that the two Dauphinese having also revealed it, the senate possessed the full right of acting as though Jaffier had discovered nothing. This opinion prevailed, supported as it was, by public

fright and horror, although much could be said on the opposite side.

They endeavoured by every means, to appease Jaffier. They offered him money and employment. He refused all, and was obstinate in uselessly demanding the lives of his associates, and at last, left Venice inconsolable for their death. The senate, hearing of it, sent him an order to quit the states of the republic within three days, under penalty of his life, and 4000 sequins which they forced him to take. The pity which he felt for his companions was redoubled each time he considered that he was the cause of their death. He heard on the road that the attack upon Bresse was yet in a state to succeed. The desire of being revenged on the senate induced him to throw himself into this city; but he was hardly there when the Ten having penetrated this affair, through the papers of the conspirators, sent troops who seized the principal posts and put to the sword all the Spaniards who had been introduced there. Jaffier was taken fighting at their head, as a man who only sought to sell his life dearly, and being conducted in a few days to Venice, he was drowned the day after his arrival.

The death of this unfortunate man having finished establishing tranquillity in this great city,

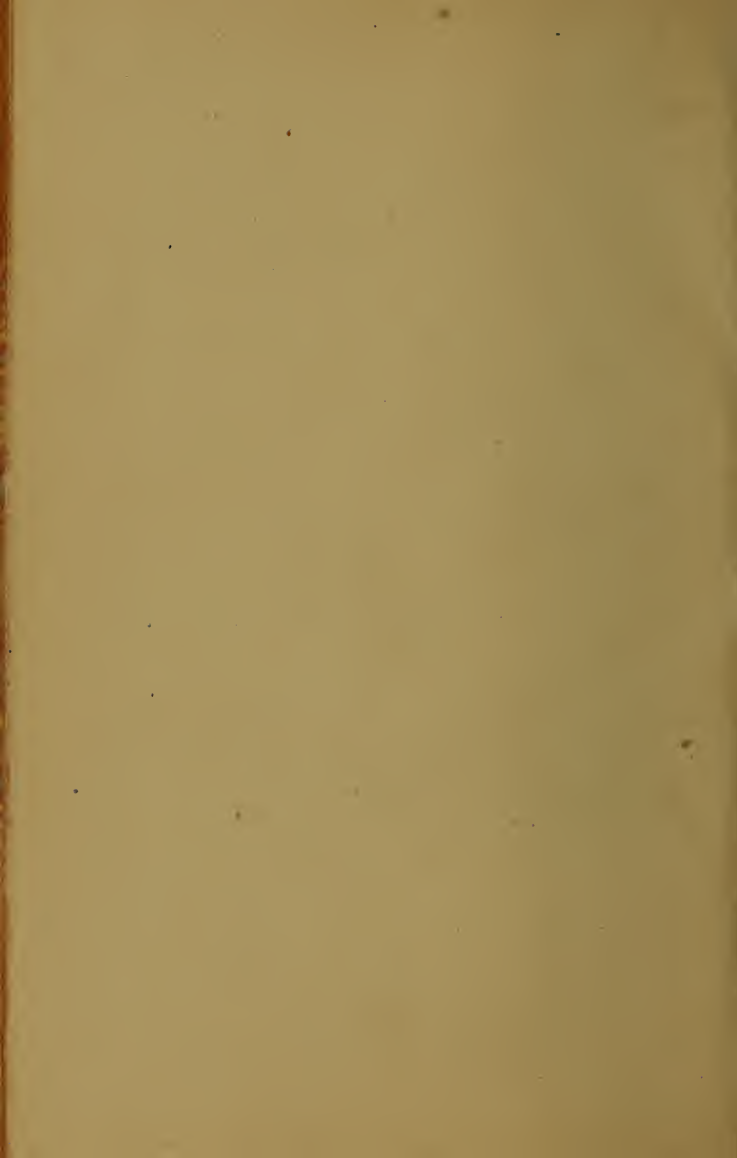
the first care of the senate was to demand another Ambassador from Madrid. Don Louis Bravo was soon named for the employment, with orders to depart instantly, and the Marquis of Bedemar gave him, according to custom, instructions which he reduced to nearly two points. First, that the new Ambassador should publicly blame, on all occasions, the conduct of his predecessor, and that he should affect one directly contrary even in the most trivial affairs. Secondly, in all the business he should transact, touching the rights and powers of the Republic, he should use as his notes, the "*Squittinio della Liberta Veneta*," to which the Marquis frequently alluded in these instructions, and although very discreetly, he evidently discovered the paternal love that he felt for this libel.

There were proclamations by trumpets and by writing throughout all the states of the Republic, that every person was forbid under penalty of death, to impute any part of this conspiracy to the King of Spain, or to the Spaniards. They gave thirty thousand ducats to the two Dauphinese who had come express from their country to discover it.

Don Pedro, seeing the desperate state of all things, at last disbanded his troops, and gave up

Verceil. The Duke of Ossuno made large presents to the wife and children of Pierre, and set them at liberty.

The Marquis of Bedemar received from Spain an order to proceed to Flanders as first minister, and some years afterward the Court of Rome presented him with a Cardinal's hat.



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